

## **Verba Vana: Empty Words in Ricardian London**

Ellis, Robert

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***Verba Vana: Empty Words in Ricardian***  
**London**

**Volume II**

**Robert Ellis**

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## Notes to Appendices

### Transcription Practice

In producing these transcriptions, spelling and capitalisation from the original manuscripts has been retained. Most abbreviations are expanded and the expansions are given in italics. When dealing with non-standard abbreviations, spellings are taken either from the usage elsewhere in the document or from the headwords in the *RMLW*, *AND* and *MED*. Some proper nouns are left unexpanded, with the missing expansion being indicated by an apostrophe. Superscript letters are silently lowered, while interlineal additions are enclosed within carets ^ ^. Where the originals contain punctuation, this has been retained but modernised. No new punctuation has been introduced. No attempt has been made to capture the layout of the original text, beyond retaining paragraph divisions. The beginnings and endings of marginal glosses are indicated by <marginated>.

Where the manuscripts have been damaged reasonable attempts have been made to recreate the sense of the original. Conjectural recreations are enclosed within < >.

Where missing material can be supplied from other documents (as in the case of the 1388 petitions), this material is enclosed in { }. Parts of the original which can no longer be recreated are indicated by <...>.

Editorial comments are placed in footnotes.

### Translation Practice

Every Latin and Anglo-Norman transcription also includes a translation into modern English. These translations are not an attempt to produce a smooth and readable rendering of the originals. Rather, these serve as reading aids to faithfully and literally capture the sense of the originals. Any additional words added for clarity are indicated by { }. The translations have been freely re-punctuated to aid the sense.

In producing these transcriptions and translations, I have made use of: Charles Trice Martin, *The Record Interpreter: A Collection of Abbreviations, Latin Words and Names Used in English Historical Manuscripts and Records* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1910); *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources with Supplement*, prepared by R. E. Latham (London: Oxford University Press, 1980); Alan Hindley, Frederick W. Langely, Brian J. Levy, *Old French-English Dictionary*



(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); J. H. Baker, *Manual of Law French* (England: Avebury, 1979); *A Copious and Critical Latin-English Lexicon, Founded on the Larger German-Latin Lexicon of Dr William Freund*, ed. E. A. Andrews (London: Sampson Low, 1851); *The Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, ed. by David Trotter et al (2001-), available online via the *Anglo-Norman Online Hub*, <<http://www.anglo-norman.net/>>; *The Middle English Dictionary*, ed. Hans Kurath, et al (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1954-99), on-line edn <<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>>.

In translating certain conventional diplomatic phrases that do not appear in dictionaries, I have made use of the searchable translations included in the electronic edition of the Parliament Rolls; *PROME: The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, 1275-1504*, ed. by Chris Given-Wilson et al, on-line edn (Leicester: Scholarly Digital Editions and The National Archives, 2005).

In deciphering the dates referred to in the texts, I have made use of *A Handbook of Dates: For Students of British History*, ed. by C. R. Cheney, rev. by Michael Jones, rev. edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

I originally produced transcriptions of several of the 1388 guild petitions for my MA thesis. For the purposes of this project, however, I have returned to the manuscripts and created transcriptions from afresh.

### **Introductory Notes**

For each text included I provide a brief introduction giving a date, source and details of any previous editions. Where I transcribe loose documents I give two sets of measurements in centimeters: the first measures the size of the parchment (width by length); the second measures the size of the written space (width by length). The length of the written space is measured from the top of a minim in the first line to the bottom of a minim in the last line.

Where relevant, each appendix also has specific notes pertinent to the document being transcribed.

## Appendix 1 – *The Stores of the Cities*

### 1a) Text and Translation

Date: Late fourteenth century

Language(s): Latin, Middle English

Source: Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O.9.38, f. 16v.

References: Poem edited by A. G. Rigg, 'The Stores of the Cities', *Anglia*, 85 (1967), 127-37.

Note to Appendix: I include here a new transcription recording my reading of the poem (which differs only slightly from Rigg's edition). In this transcription, I have replicated the distinctive manuscript layout, which places the names of each city in the left margin.

### Text

	Hec sunt londonis, pira pomaque regia thronus	1
Londonis	Chepp, stupha, coklana, dolium, leo verbaque vana Lancea cum scutis hec sunt staura ciuitutis Capitulum kekus, porcus, fimus eborecus	
<Eb>oracus	Nal, nel, lamprones, kele & mele salt salamones	5
	Ratis cum petys hec sunt staura ciuitetis Hec sunt lincolne, bow, bolt, & bellia bolne	
Lyncolne	Ad monstrum scala, rosa brygha, nobilis ala Et bubulus flatus hec sunt staura ciuitatis	
	Hec sunt norwycus, panis ordeus halpenypykys	10
Norwycus	Clausus posticus, domus habrahe, dy <sup>r</sup> zt quoque vicus fflynt valles, rede thek, ciuitatis optima sunt hec Contreye mirum, sopanedula tractaque wyrum	
Coventrye	Et carmen notum noua stipula pedula totum Cardones mille, hec sunt insigni a villia	15
	Hec sunt brystolllys & ladelys dozelys quoque bolllys	
Brystolllys	Burges negones karine clocheriaque chevones Webbys cum rotis hec sunt staura ciuitotis Hec sunt cantorum iuga dogmata bal baculorum	
Cantuarum	Et princeps tumba, bel, brachia, sulsaque plumba	20
	Et syserem potus hec sunt staura ciuitotis	

## Translation

Note to Appendix: The *Stores of the Cities* is a poem which resists simple translation. For the sake of clarity, I offer here a possible translation of the poem, but this should be read alongside Rigg's notes on the entire poem and my detailed comments on stanzas one and three which follow. In translating stanzas 2 and 4-7 I mostly follow Rigg; where I differ from his translation I offer brief explanatory footnotes.

	These are London's: pears and apples, palace, throne,	1
London's	Cheapside, the Stews, Cock Lane, the Tun, the Lion, and empty words,	
	Lance and shields. These are the stores of the city.	
	Chapter, rubbish, pig, mud: York's.	
York's	Nail, <sup>1</sup> needle, lampreys, net <sup>2</sup> and meal, <sup>3</sup> salt, salmon,	5
	Rats with pets. These are the stores of the city.	
	These are Lincoln's: Stonebow, bolt, and large bell,	
Lincoln's	Steps to the cathedral, bright rose-window, noble aisle,	
	And bovine wind. These are the stores of the city.	
	These are Norwich's: barley-bread, halfpenny pies,	10
Norwich's	Close gate, Abraham's Hall, dirt street	
	Flint walls, red thatch. These are the best of the city.	
	Coventry: a miracle, white soap, <sup>4</sup> and wire-drawing,	
Coventry's	And a famous legend, a new steeple, a whole font, <sup>5</sup>	

<sup>1</sup> Rigg translates 'nal' as *awl*, but does express some uncertainty about the phrase 'nal, nel'. It would seem to me that this line is all about fishing: it mentions needles (used to make nets), nets, salt fish, salmon, and lampreys. As such, 'nal' could be read as *nail*: the *MED* gives 'nal(l)e' as an alternative spelling of 'nail (n.)'. While nails may not be a crucial attribute of the fisherman, we do have records of 'iron nails' being sold alongside 'salt fish' and 'salt' at a fish-market. For details, see Eileen Power, *Medieval English Nunneries: c.1275-1535* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> Rigg translates 'kele' as *broth*. The *MED*, however, offers '[a] net' as a definition for 'calle (n.)' (alternatively spelt 'kel' or 'kelle'). Given this line's emphasis on fishing, this strikes me as a more plausible interpretation.

<sup>3</sup> Given the context, it is tempting to read 'mele' as *mealworm*. But I can find no evidence to support this reading.

<sup>4</sup> Rigg offers *soaps, needles* as a speculative translation for 'sopanedula'. This reading is plausible given that the *Stores* has already mentioned needles. However, the manuscript does record this as a single word implying some connection between the two terms. *RMLW* offers *white* as a translation for 'nedulus', which raises the possibility of reading this phrase as 'white soap'. 'Nedulus' is by no means a common Latin word and I do not want to push this argument too far. It is, though, notable that white soap was sold in Coventry: see Charles Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Rigg does not offer a translation for 'pedula'. The *RMLW* directs the reader to *pes*, a word with many definitions, including 'pedestal (of font)'. This definition is compelling, particularly if we

	A thousand cards. These are the marks of the city.	15
	These are Bristol's: ladels, barrel-plugs, bowls,	
Bristol's	Niggardly citizens, boats, bell-towers and beams,	
	Webs with wheels. These are the stores of the city.	
	These are Canterbury's: eternal dogmas, a bundle of pilgrim-staffs,	
Canterbury's	And the primate, tomb, bell, beer-producing grain, <sup>6</sup> pickled plums	20
	And the drink sicer. These are the stores of the city.	

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accept Rigg's argument that 'nova stipula' refers to the spire of St Michael's Church, begun in 1373 and completed by 1395. For, a manuscript list of the mayors of Coventry records that mayor John Crosse, in 1394, 'built the font in St. Michael's'. This line could thus be referring to the new features of St Michael's (and would mirror a similar line in the poem focusing on Lincoln's cathedral), and would suggest a date for the poem shortly after 1395 (once both the steeple and font were completed). However, this reading is speculative. For a transcription of the mayoral list, see: William Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire*, rev. by William Thomas, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London: John Osborn and Thomas Longman, 1730), I, 148. For St Michael's spire, see T. G. Bonney, *Abbeys and Churches of England and Wales: Descriptive, Historical, Pictorial* (London: Cassel, 1887), pp. 78-80.

<sup>6</sup> *RMLW* offers 'reliquary' as an alternative definition of 'bracch/ium'. I follow Rigg here with 'beer-producing grain', but I suspect that the *Stores*-poet is deliberately punning on the twin meanings of 'brachia' to link the religious aspects of the opening of this stanza with the alcoholic references that follow.

## 1b) Additional Comments on Stanza 1

Note to Appendix: I offer here some slightly lengthier notes on the first stanza of the *Stores of the Cities*, as this is the stanza that has particularly influenced this project.

*pira pomaque*: Rigg reads ‘pira pomusque’. In the hand of the *Stores*’ scribe, the respective bowls of the grapheme ‘a’ and the ‘-us’ abbreviation mark are identical. The only difference is the abbreviation mark’s diagonal descender. In the manuscript, there is what appears to be a diagonal line below the bowl which follows ‘pom’. However, upon closer inspection this line is actually just a blotch on the manuscript: it does not actually connect to the base of the bowl. The reading is thus simply *pomaque*.

Rigg resists reading this line literally. He reads both as singular nouns and offers the speculative translation of ‘sceptre and orb’. If the nouns are read as plurals, however, the literal reading of ‘pears and apples’ becomes more plausible. Apples and pears do seem to have been grown in the city, both for profit and consumption.<sup>1</sup> In addition, as Melitta Weiss Adamson suggests, much of the fruit sold in the city was ‘brought in from the countryside or [...] grown in the suburbs’.<sup>2</sup> This fruit could have been grown in the gardens which literally surrounded the city and were leased by the civic officials to citizens, or in the more substantial gardens found around Westminster.<sup>3</sup> Regardless of where the fruit was sourced, however, apples and pears were evidently on display in the city. The poem’s opening may thus be read as a straightforward reference to the natural produce of the city.

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<sup>1</sup> Barron reminds us that ‘[m]edieval London was a city of gardens and open spaces’; see her *London*, pp. 252-55. Fruit trees would be found most notably in the large gardens belonging to the nobility and to the gardens attached to the many religious houses in the city. For example, the financial accounts of the Earl of Lincoln from 1295-96 lists the profits that he made from selling pears and apples, among other fruits, grown in his garden in Holborn. C. C. Dyer suggests that the Earl’s land would have included ‘hundreds of fruit trees’. See C. C. Dyer, ‘Gardens and Garden Produce in the Later Middle Ages’, in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. by C. M. Woolgar, D. Sarjeantson and T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 27-40 (p. 28). Individual Londoners would have had smaller gardens, but still seemed to grow fruit trees, although our knowledge of these mostly comes through references in the courts following transgressions. For example, in 1363 Margery de Honylane complains of fruit from her garden being stolen due to a disrepaired wall, while in 1376 a similar complaint is made by William and Felicia Chaloner. See *London Assize of Nuisance, 1301-1431: A Calendar*, ed. by Helena M. Chew and William Kellaway (London: London Record Society, 1973), p. 519, 609.

<sup>2</sup> Melitta Weiss Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> London citizens could rent allotments outside of London on land that was owned by the city. See Barron, *London*, p. 253. For Westminster’s role in supplying food and fruit to the city, see Gervase Rosser, *Medieval Westminster* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 137-38.

**dolium**: ‘dolium’ is one of the more straightforward words in the poem for, as Rigg notes, it translates as “the Tunne”, the prison situated in Cornhill.<sup>4</sup> Stow described the Tun, built in 1282, as ‘a prison for night walkers, and other suspicious persons’, and this remained one of its functions throughout the years of its use.<sup>5</sup> For example, in 1388 William Stofford and Alice Hoo are ‘taken in adultery’ in the night and carried to the ‘dolium’ on Cornhill to await their appearance before the mayor the following day.<sup>6</sup> However, in the late fourteenth century, the Tun also became a ‘destination in the punishment process’, and people who had been convicted of a crime – often, but not always, some form of illicit sexual practices – were processed there ‘in broad daylight and with musical accompaniment’.<sup>7</sup> So, Northampton decreed that any ‘advoutur’ [*adulterer*] found guilty ‘soit amesne a Newgate, et dilloques ove ministalcie parmy Chepe, tanqe le tonel sur Cornhull’ [*should be brought to Newgate, and from there with minstrelcy through Chepe, up to the Tun on Cornhill*].<sup>8</sup> The ‘Tun’ was eventually replaced in 1401 with a ‘Cesterne for sweet water’.<sup>9</sup>

While ‘dolium’ here does refer to the prison, it is worth noting the origins of the prison’s name: it was named ‘because the same was builded somewhat in fashion of a Tunne standing on the ende’.<sup>10</sup> The Latin ‘dolium’ and the vernacular ‘Tun’ to refer to a cask of (typically) wine was still commonly in use in the late fourteenth century: for example, the *Cutler’s Petition* refers to ‘le Tonnel dautre tiel vin’ and the parliament rolls refer to ‘unum dolium vini’.<sup>11</sup> I would argue there’s some punning here: the *Stores*-poet’s mention of ‘dolium’ is followed immediately by a mention of ‘leo’. If ‘leo’ is read as a reference to a public house – a place which

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<sup>4</sup> Rigg, ‘Stores’, p. 132.

<sup>5</sup> Stow, *Survey of London*, I, 188. On the ‘Tun’ see R. B. Pugh, *Imprisonment in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 112; Rexroth, *Deviance and Power*, pp. 176-77. Pugh usefully notes that ‘night-walkers’ refers to ‘not only prostitutes, but anyone found wandering in the city after curfew’ (p. 112).

<sup>6</sup> *CLBH*, p. 339.

<sup>7</sup> Rexroth, *Deviance and Power*, pp. 176-77.

<sup>8</sup> This text from *Letter-Book G*, f. cxlvi<sup>v</sup> is transcribed in Rexroth, *Deviance and Power*, pp. 347-49 (p. 349). The translation is my own.

<sup>9</sup> Stow, *Survey of London*, I, 190-91. Rigg uses the Tun’s closure as a *terminus ad quem* for the poem’s composition. Rexroth has challenged this view, arguing that while “the Tun” ceased to be a special prison for sex crimes [...] it continued to be associated with them’ (*Deviance and Power*, p. 187, fn. 288). However, Rexroth offers no evidence for this view, while a search of the civic letter-books give no examples of the Tun’s use after 1401.

<sup>10</sup> Stow, *Survey of London*, I, 188.

<sup>11</sup> For the *Cutlers’ Petition*, see Appendix 71, section 10; *PROME*, III, 591.

would regularly receive tuns/dolia – it would seem plausible to assume that the *Stores*-poet is playing with the twin meanings of ‘dolium’.

*leo*: Rigg says of ‘leo’ that it refers either to ‘the Lion tower’, or ‘another prison’ or ‘a pub’.<sup>12</sup> Rigg notes that no prison of this name existed in London in the fourteenth century, while the Lion Tower in the Tower of London does not match the sense of the line. Rigg cites one example of a pub – the ‘Lion Inn [...] near the river by Charing Cross’.<sup>13</sup> However, there is another London pub which goes unnoticed by Rigg that fits the context of this line more smoothly: ‘the Lion’ (sometimes called ‘le lyon on the hoop’, or ‘le lyoun’), an inn situated on the south side of Cheapside between Gropecunt Lane and Popkirtle Lane.<sup>14</sup> Anne Sutton has argued that such taverns occupied a crucial place in political and literary culture in the city: she suggests that the large taverns on Cheapside ‘could have been a venue for the *sieges* of the London Puy or for discussions of policy regarding the English wool staple’, while they may also have housed ‘[m]eetings of the Mercers as a commonalty’.<sup>15</sup> While Sutton views the Tumbling Bear, a tavern adjacent to the Lion, as the likeliest place for such meetings, she gives the Lion as ‘another possible venue for the Puy’.<sup>16</sup> The historical record is somewhat unclear on the exact nature of the *Lion*. In 1345, this site is said to contain a ‘wine-tavern (*taberna vini*) called la Lyoun, with all the shops in front, solars, and cellars’.<sup>17</sup> It may be that the tavern was situated in a recess behind the shops, although it is also possible that it was situated in the cellar.<sup>18</sup> By 1398, the site is described as ‘one tenement with a cellar, called *le lyon on the hoop*’.<sup>19</sup> While a tavern is no longer explicitly mentioned as part of the site, the resilience of the ‘le lyon’ name implies that this property still functioned as a tavern. In the late fourteenth century, the site was owned by William de Thame, citizen and

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<sup>12</sup> Rigg, ‘Stores’, pp. 132–33.

<sup>13</sup> Rigg, ‘Stores’, p. 133.

<sup>14</sup> Keene and Harding, ‘St. Pancras Soper Lane 145/37’, *Gazetteer*. A map of Cheapside including the Lion is printed in: Sutton, ‘The *Tumbling Bear*’, p. 88.

<sup>15</sup> Sutton, *Mercery*, p. 72.

<sup>16</sup> Sutton, ‘The *Tumbling Bear*’, p. 109. On the Tumbling Bear, see Keene and Harding, ‘St. Pancras Soper Lane 145/36’, *Gazetteer*.

<sup>17</sup> Keene and Harding, ‘St. Pancras Soper Lane 145/37’, *Gazetteer*.

<sup>18</sup> There was a similar property in the parish of St Mary le Bow, which Keene and Harding seek to recreate: They suggest ‘[t]here were shops on the Cheapside frontage; behind them was a seld; the tavern probably occupied a cellar below the seld and the shops, and associated with it were solars which were probably above the seld and shops’. See Keene and Harding, ‘St. Mary le Bow 104/32’, *Gazetteer*.

<sup>19</sup> Keene and Harding, ‘St. Pancras Soper Lane 145/37’, *Gazetteer*.

fishmonger, and his wife Juliana, although in 1389, at least parts of the property were rented to Henry Bamme, citizen and goldsmith.<sup>20</sup> We can imagine the London was a prominent building and, given the fact of its geographical proximity to the ‘dolium’ and the fact of its location on Cheapside, this strikes me as the most plausible way of interpreting the *Stores*’ ‘leo’.

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<sup>20</sup> Keene and Harding, ‘St. Pancras Soper Lane 145/37’, *Gazetteer*.



### 1c) *The Stores'* description of Lincoln: A Walking Tour?

Notes to Appendix: This appendix argues that the stanza of the *Stores of the Cities* describing Lincoln functions as a walking tour of the city, noting the key landmarks any visitor to the city would encounter. This argument is peripheral to my overall dissertation, although as it offers some possible new evidence for the date of the poem's composition, it is a useful inclusion here.

#### bow, bolt

Rigg comments that these terms 'probably refer to archery', although he does mention in passing the famous Stonebow, the arch that was the first architectural feature of the city travellers from the south would encounter.



**Fig. 1 – The Stonebow today. The building was substantially rebuilt in 1520, and has had further additions and alterations over the ensuing years.**

Lincoln does not appear to have been notorious for archery. The Stonebow, however, was a dominant feature of civic life: as well as providing access to the city from the

south, the chambers above the Stonebow formed the city's guildhall, where the meetings of the civic government were held from as early as the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup> By 1390 the original 'Gildhalle' had been torn down and, while 'another hall is there begun, loftier and more convenient' progress was slow and the king had to issue a command compelling Lincoln citizens to contribute towards the new building.<sup>2</sup> This command appears to have been ignored; another command was issued three years later in 1394, but a new Guildhall was not fully erected until 1520.<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, in the years between 1394 and 1520, the Stonebow ceases to be a topic of particular controversy and it appears to have been neglected by the civic officers. Evidently some sort of building remained at the south of Lincoln: Richard Gurnham asserts that the 'lower sections' of the current Stonebow were in place by 1400 and, given the king's reference to the 'Gildhalle' having been torn down, it may only have been parts of the upper chambers that were dilapidated.<sup>4</sup> Certainly, the survival of the bell forged in 1371 to sit atop the Stonebow suggests that some structure existed in the fifteenth century.

The *Stores*-poet could thus have encountered a building here throughout the fifteenth century, and so his reference to the Stonebow does not firmly date the poem. However, it is interesting to note that in 1394 in Lincoln, the Stonebow was the site of some popular controversy which appears to have faded during the fifteenth century. This controversy – along with possible visual signs of the new, loftier building, construction of which had begun – may have drawn the *Stores*-poet's attention to this building.

If we take 'bow' to refer to the Stonebow, then 'bolt' could be read as synecdochically referring to a gate, the Stonebow being the 'principal gate of the city'.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For an overview of the Stonebow, see J. O. R. Steward and J. J. Cooke, *The Stonebow and Guildhall: A Guide to this Historic Building in the Heart of the City of Lincoln* (Lincoln: J. W. Ruddock & Sons, 1990). For an archaeological and symbolic reading, focusing particularly on the early modern building, see David Stocker, 'The Lincoln Stonebow and the Flattery of Princes', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 150 (1997), 96-105.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls, Richard II: Volume 4, 1389-92*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell-Lyte (London: HMSO, 1922), p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Stocker, 'Lincoln Stonebow', p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Gurnham, *A History of Lincoln* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2009), p. 73.

<sup>5</sup> Francis Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 156.

### **bellia bolne**

The meaning of ‘bellia bolne’ is unclear. Rigg reads ‘bolne’ as a Middle English word meaning ‘large’ (although the *MED* gives the definition ‘swollen’), and I cannot think of a more plausible interpretation of the word.<sup>6</sup> Rigg offers several interpretations for ‘bellia’, two of which strike me as being particularly intriguing: ‘bell’ and ‘thornback (fish)’



**Fig. 2 – The Stonebow’s bell. In the top right-hand corner of this image can be seen the frame within which the Stonebow bell hangs**

The reading ‘bell’ would fit with what we know about the *Stores*-poet’s interests, as elsewhere in the poem he mentions a ‘bel’ [*bell*] (1.20) and a ‘clocheria’ [*belltower*] (1.17). Rigg cites one of Lincoln’s bells: the precursor to the Old Tom which weighed 7807 pounds. However, it is worth noting that the Stonebow also had its own ‘mote-bell’ which is the ‘oldest in England, marked 1371’ and contains a Latin inscription naming the mayor – ‘WILLI BEELE’ – and instructing that the bell should be rung at the beginning and end of council meetings.<sup>7</sup> It should be noted this

<sup>6</sup> s.v. ‘bolni (adj.)’, *MED*.

<sup>7</sup> A description of the bell, along with the Latin inscription, appears in Stewart and Cooke, *Stonebow*, p. 5.

bell is not ‘bolne’: it is only twenty and a half inches in diameter, and it is shaped like any other bell.<sup>8</sup> However, it was visible from the street, it was heard regularly throughout the day, and it was closely associated with the Guildhall, so it may be what the *Stores*-poet is referring to here.



**Fig. 3 – Fish Pedicures at the Stonebow. Where once we ate fish, now fish eat us.**

<sup>8</sup> Thomas North, *The Church Bells of the County of City of Lincoln: Their Founders, Inscriptions, Traditions and Peculiar Uses* (Leicester: Samuel Clarke, 1882), p. 255. And image of the bell appears in Stewart and Cooke, *Stonebow*, p. 4.



A second possible interpretation of ‘bellia’ is ‘thornbacks’, a type of fish.<sup>9</sup> The *Stores*-poet has an interest in fish, and elsewhere names ‘salamones’ and ‘lamprones’ amongst others (1.5). Once a visitor to Lincoln had passed through the Stonebow, they would find themselves on the main marketstreet leading up to the castle. Here, fish – amongst much other produce – would be for sale.

### **Ad monstrum scala**

Any visitor to Lincoln cannot but notice the steep incline from the base of the hill to the castle on the summit. The main road is accurately if unimaginatively called ‘Steep Hill’, with the gradient being at times as much as 1 in 4 (and being 1 in 12 on average).<sup>10</sup> However, in both the medieval and modern period this steep hill was not the only way to the summit: there were also a set of steps – known as the Greestone Stairs linking the lower city to the cathedral.



**Fig. 4 – The Greestone Stairs, leading from the lower city to the south side of the cathedral.**

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<sup>9</sup> s.v. ‘bellium’, *RMLW*. This definition is found only in a glossarial entry from 1570; Latham cannot find any actual usage of the word.

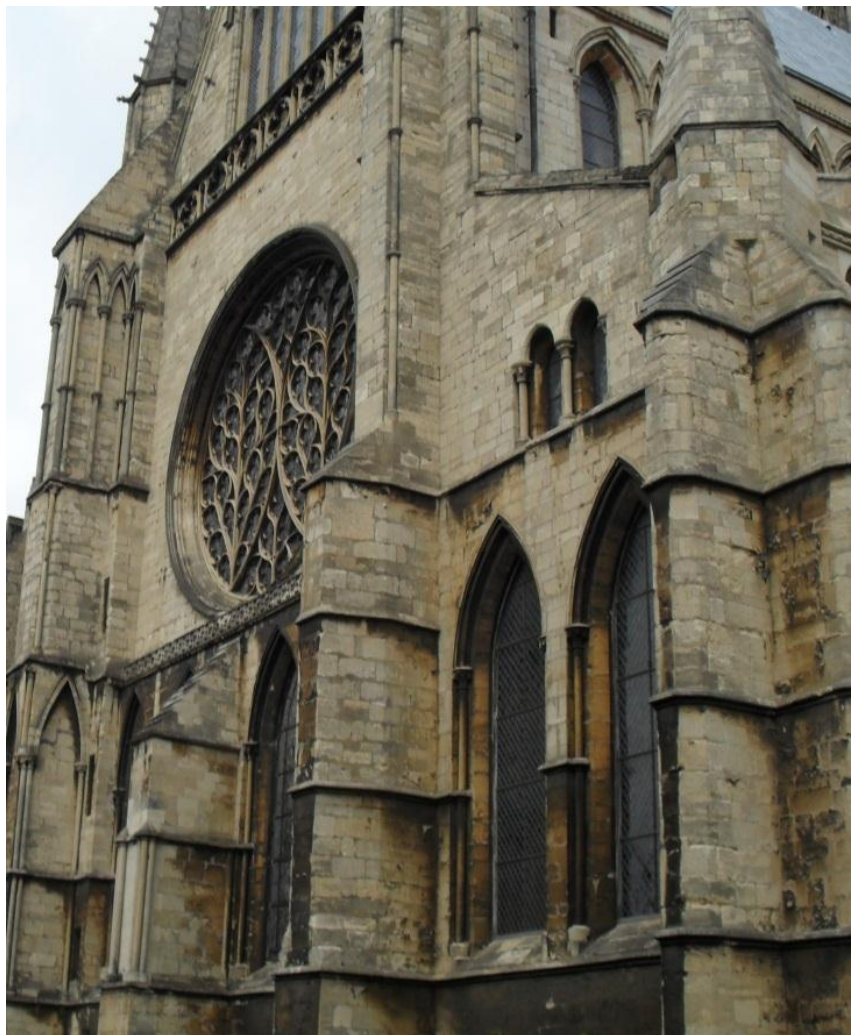
<sup>10</sup> Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, p. 153.

The modern Greestone stairs are somewhat abbreviated: Hill suggests their medieval forebears continued further south towards the river.<sup>11</sup> They have also, of course, been relaid since the fourteenth century.

It is this line that originally caused me to think about these lines as a walking tour: the *Stores* typically shuns prepositions (the only other one is an ‘a’ in line 15). The use of ‘[a]d monstrum’ here is significant as it suggests movement, a movement up the stairs towards the cathedral.

### **rosa brygha**

Once the Greestone stairs are surmounted, you arrive on the southeastern edge of Lincoln cathedral, and one of the first things you can see is the rear of one of the cathedral’s rose windows.



**Fig. 5 – Lincoln Cathedral’s Rose Window. As seen from the outside having climbed the Greestone Stairs.**

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<sup>11</sup> Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, p. 150.

Lincoln cathedral has two rose windows opposite each other – the Dean’s Eye of the main north transept (installed in the thirteenth century) and the Bishop’s Eye of the main south transept (installed in the 1330s).<sup>12</sup> It is notable, however, that the *Stores*-poet only mentions one. This might be explained if we imagine the poet approaching the cathedral from the south, where he would only see the one window, rather than both.

**Fig. 6 –  
The  
Bishop’s  
Eye  
Window  
taken  
from  
within the  
cathedral**



### **nobilis ala**

Rigg translates this as ‘noble aisle’ but offers no commentary on it. The translation ‘noble aisle’ strikes me as entirely plausible, and would fit within the framework of a walking tour: having seen the rose window from the outside, our itinerant poet then moves into the cathedral itself. However, I can find no particular significance to this aisle in the late fourteenth century. There were no augmentations made to it or the wider cathedral. The only possibly interesting addition to the aisle is the tomb of Katherine Swynford, who died in May 1403. Swynford had close connections to Lincoln, while it was in Lincoln Cathedral that she married John of Gaunt in 1396.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Gurnham, *History of Lincoln*, p. 58.

<sup>13</sup> Simon Walker, ‘Katherine [née Katherine Roelt; married name Katherine Swynford], duchess of Lancaster (1350?–1403)’, *ODNB*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26858>>, [Last accessed: 31 Jan 2012].



Either the death or the marriage could have prompted the *Stores*-poet to reflect on the aisle. However, it may be that no historical event prompted the reference, and the line simply serves to complete the line and provide a rhyme for ‘scala’.



**Fig. 7 –  
The  
Ceiling of  
the South  
Aisle of  
Lincoln  
Cathedral**



### **Et bubulus flatus**

Rigg delicately translates this as ‘breathing of cattles’; I have translated it more straightforwardly as ‘bovine wind’. One of the remarkable features of Lincoln is the view from atop the castle walls looking west across Lincolnshire. While today the immediate area surrounding the castle is built up, beyond this are fields with only the occasional conurbation and smoke stacks.<sup>14</sup> The expansiveness of this view (helped by Lincolnshire’s flatness) would have been even more pronounced in the fourteenth century. Without a doubt, therefore, people standing atop Lincoln would have seen (and smelt) cattle in the fields to the west, and this sensory overload would probably have merited description.<sup>15</sup> However, from standing atop the castle walls, what struck me above all else was the wind: the exposed nature of Lincoln means it does get buffeted by strong winds to the point where walking along the castle walls becomes difficult.<sup>16</sup> Given the strength of the wind, it would not surprise me if the *Stores*-poet was punning on ‘wind’ here. The phrase carries with it a sensory overload: the sight of pasture lands, the feel of the wind on your face, and the smells of nature.



**Fig. 8 – The View from the Castle**

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<sup>14</sup> This expansiveness is difficult to capture in a single photograph, but I do think it is as ‘tangible’ a feature of Lincoln as the Stonebow or the Greestone Stairs.

<sup>15</sup> Rigg notes that the ‘permanent pasture land was in the West of the city, and gave rise to names like “Oxpasture”’. Rigg, ‘Stores’, p. 134.

<sup>16</sup> It should be noted that I visited Lincoln at the same time that Hurricane Katia was moving across Europe, which may have had some impact on the wind strength in Lincoln.

## Conclusion

This appendix serves two purposes. Firstly, it has sought to argue that the description of Lincoln provided by the *Stores*-poet functions as a walking tour of the city. The visitor to Lincoln arriving from the South passes through the Stonebow and hears the bell ringing and walks through the fish market. The visitor is then confronted by a steep incline and elects to climb their Greestone steps which bring him to the south side of Lincoln cathedral where he can see part of the Bishop's Eye window. The visitor then enters the cathedral, looks again at the Bishop's Eye window and then walks up the cathedral's aisle. Exiting the cathedral, the visitor finds themselves exposed to the elements, and cannot escape the wind and the smells of the countryside.

Secondly, it has sought to add to our understanding of the poem's date. If we accept the view that the stanza functions as a walking tour, this makes my interpretation of 'bow' as referring to 'Stonebow' more plausible. The Stonebow was a site of activity and controversy in the early- to mid-1390s. Given the Stonebow, given possible references in the stanza on Coventry to St Michael's steeple and font (completed in 1395 and 1394), and given the reference to London's 'Tun' (replaced in 1401), we could posit a very specific date range for the poem of 1395-1401.

## Appendix 2: The Variable Fortunes of Nicholas Exton

### 2a) Nicholas Exton's *indecentibus verbis*

Date: August 1382

Language(s): Anglo-Norman, Latin

Source: *Letter-Book H*, f. cliv

References: See *CLBH*, pp. 196-97

Notes: This entry is crossed out (see fig. 9). Some letters are obscured as a result. The entry includes three marginal glosses, two of which (1 and 3) are written by a single scribe and appear at the top and bottom of the entry respectively. A third marginal gloss (2), which is written in another hand, is a later addition and appears towards the middle of the entry. The entry is written as a single paragraph; for ease of referencing, I here add sectional breaks marking the moments when the entry interpolates another text.

#### Text

1.

<marginated>amocio Nicholi Exton' ab officio aldermani<marginated>

2.

<marginated>Causa qua trahitur p' postea fol clxxv<marginated>

3.

<marginated>eleccio Gilberti manfeld in aldermano<marginated>

4.

Memorandum quod in congregacione Johannis Norhampton' maioris & aldermanorum London' ac aliorum proborum Communiariorum certorum misterum pro diuersis negociis Ciuitatem predictam tangentibus summonitorum & in Camera superiori Guyhalde eiusdem Ciuitatis die mercurij proximo ante festum sancti laurencij anno regni Regis Ricardi secundi sexto<sup>1</sup> congregatorum ad instan<ci>am eorundem communiariorum per communem narratorem dicte Ciuitatis supplicatum f<u>it predictis maiori & aldermanis quod Nichus Exton' aldermanus Ripe Regine pro diuersis & pluribus verbis indec<e>ntibus prefato maiori dictis ab officio suo aldermani exoneretur &c qui quidem Nicholus tunc in eadem Camera presens ho<c>

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. Wednesday 6th of August 1382.

audiens & videns similiter peciit se ab eod<e>m officio exonerari &c. Et quia dicti maior & aldermani cum *communi* consilio Ciuitatis *predicte* inde plenius vol<u>erunt consuli iudicium inde respectuatur vsque ad *proximo commune* consilium &c. Ad quem diem videlicet die sabati in <vi>gilia *sancti laurencii predicte*<sup>2</sup> in eadem Camera presentibus superdictis maiore aldermanis & toto *communi* consilio Ciuitatis *communiarii* tunc *ibidem* presentes protulerunt per eundem *communem* narratorem dictis maiori & aldermanis quandam billam in hec verba

5.

A lours treshonurez soueraignez maire & aldermans supplient les *comunes* primement *que* Nichol Exton' soit deschargez del office de ald<e>rmanrie come ils ont autrefoith supplie & c<o>nte il pria lui mesmes nadgaires a vous sires & ala *commune* disant al ho<u>re qil auoit offert vne grosse somme de deners pur auoir este d<e>schargez al temps de son eleccioun, et coment *que* les causes de leur demande ne soient desclarrez en ne les <as>semble ala *commune* *que* ceste leur supplicacioun suffit a icel depuis qils desirent cel descharge & le dit Nichol le desire auxint.

6.

Q<u>a billa v<is>a & intellecta, quia ijdem maior & aldermani de iudicio inde reddendo plenius voluerunt auisari, et quia <i>dem Nicholus tunc non fuit *presens* <i>udicium inde ponitur in respectu<m> vsques ad *proximo commune* consilium ex tunc tenendum videlicet diem sabati in crastino *assumpcionis* <b>eate marie virginis tunc *proximo future*<sup>3</sup> <e>t super hoc preceptum fuit Johanni Duston' seruienti Camere quod premuniret eundem Nicholum essendi tunc in Camera *predicta* coram dictis maiore aldermanis & *communi* consilio auditure iudicium suum. Ad quem diem in *presencia dictorum* maioris & aldermanorum & *tocius communis* consilij <in> eadem Camera *communiarii dicti communis* consilii protulerunt quandam aliam billam in hec verba

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<sup>2</sup> i.e. Saturday 9th of August 1382.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. Saturday 16th of August 1382.

7.

A lour treshonurez souerayns mair & aldermans supplient les *communes* dauoir execucioun fait sur lour bille susmys a vous *seignour* en le darrein *commune* conseil tochant le descharge de *Nichol* Exton’.

8.

Qua billa simul <c>um prima visa & intellecta et licet idem *Nichol* ad domum suam in London' per seruientem *predictam* premunitus fuisset essendi tunc ibidem auditure iudicium suum prout per eundem seruientem testatur <i>dem tamen *Nicholus* non venit set se absentauit &c. Super quo quia idem *Nicholus* certa verba indecentia alias vt *predic<i>tur* prefato maiori dixit et quia tam *predicti* *communiarij* quam ipsemet *Nicholus* pecierunt quod ipse exo<ner>ari posset ab officio *predictur* Ideo ex *dictorum* maioris *aldermanorum* *communis* consilij pleno consensu Consideratum est quod idem *Nichus* amoneatur & exo<ner>etur ab officio *predicto* secundum formam & tenorem prime bille *superdicte* &c. Et sic inde *exoneratus* est & loco suo in eodem officio *Gilbertus* *maunfeld* electus est *Aldermanus* *Warde* *predicte*.

## Translation

1.

The removal of Nicholas Exton from the office of alderman.

2.

The reason why it is crossed out <...> after, folio clxxv.

3.

The election of Gilbert Manfield as alderman.

4.

Be it remembered that in a congregation of John Northampton, mayor, and of the aldermen of London and other good commons of certain mysteries summoned for various matters concerning the aforesaid city and convened at the request of the same commons in the chamber above the Guildhall of the same city on Wednesday next before the feast of Saint Laurence in the sixth year of the reign of King Richard the Second, it was requested by the Common Pleader of the said city to the aforesaid mayor and aldermen that Nicholas Exton, alderman of Queenhithe, should be discharged from his office of alderman on account of various and many unbecoming words uttered to the said mayor, etc. The which Nicholas, then present in the same chamber, hearing and seeing this, similarly sought to have himself discharged from the same office, etc. And because the said mayor and aldermen wished more fully to have consulted thereupon with the common council of the aforesaid city, the judgement thereupon was respited until the next common council, etc. At which day, specifically Saturday on the vigil of the aforesaid Saint Laurence, in the same chamber, in the presence of the abovesaid mayor, aldermen and all the commons of the common council then present in that place, they brought forward by the same Common Pleader to the said mayor and aldermen a certain bill, in these words:

5.

‘To their most honourable lords, the mayor and aldermen, the commons pray firstly that Nicholas Exton should be discharged from his office of alderman; as they have previously prayed and related, he himself lately prayed to your lords and to the

commons saying at that time that he offered a large sum of money to have been discharged at the time of his election. And, albeit the causes of their demand should not be declared to the commons in the assembly, this, their petition, suffices for this, since they desire that discharge and the said Nicholas desires it also’.

6.

The which bill seen and understood; because the same mayor and aldermen wished more fully to be advised thereupon about rendering judgement, and because the same Nicholas was not then present, judgement thereupon is respited until the next common council to be held after that time, specifically Saturday on the morrow of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary then next following; and upon this, John Duston, servant of the chamber, was ordered that he should forewarn the same Nicholas to then be in the aforesaid chamber before the said mayor, aldermen and the common council to hear his judgement. On which day, in the presence of the said mayor and aldermen and all the common council, in the same chamber, the said commons of the common council brought forward a certain other bill, in these words:

7.

‘To their most honourable lords, the mayor and aldermen, the commons pray to have execution made upon their bill put to your lord above in the last common council, touching the discharging of Nicholas Exton’.

8.

The which bill together with the first, seen and understood. And although the same Nicholas was instructed by the aforesaid servant at his house in London to then be there to hear his judgement – as is sworn by the same servant – nevertheless, the same Nicholas did not come, but absented himself, etc. Upon that, because the same Nicholas said certain other unbecoming words (as is aforesaid) to the aforesaid mayor, and because both the aforesaid commons as well as Nicholas himself requested that he should be discharged from the aforesaid, therefore with the consent of the said mayor, aldermen, and the full common council it is agreed that the same Nicholas should be admonished and discharged from the aforesaid office according to the form and tenor of the abovesaid first bill, etc. And thus thereupon he is

discharged and Gilbert Maunfeld is elected alderman of the aforesaid ward in his place in the same office.



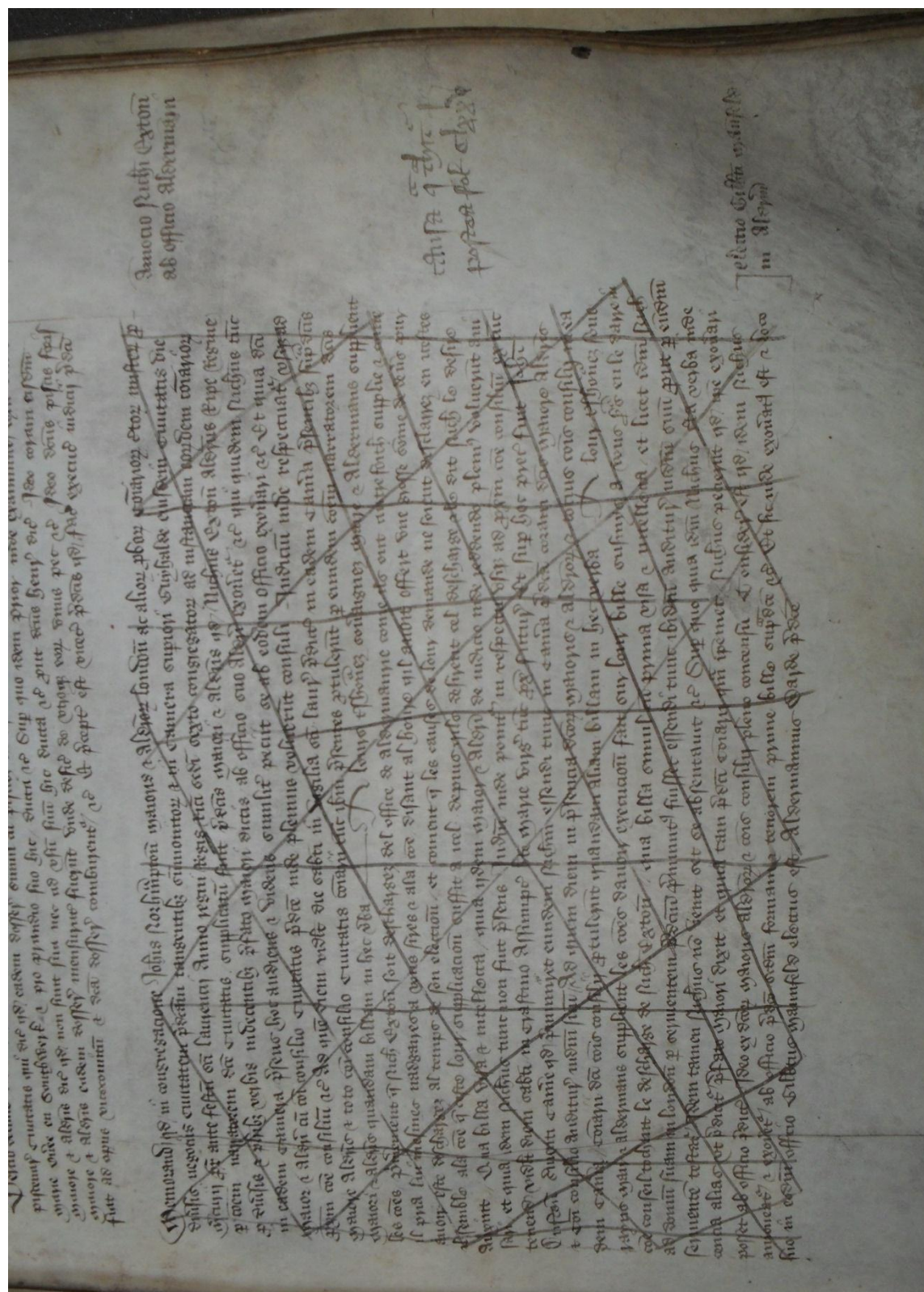


Fig. 9 – Letter-Book H, f. cliv

## 2b) Nicholas Exton's Slander

Date: 25 November 1384

Language(s): Latin

Source: *Letter-Book H*, f. clvii-clviii

References: See *CLBH*, pp. 204-05

Notes: This entry is crossed out in the letter-book (see Figs 10-11). The second marginal note is a later addition.

### Text

1.

<marginated>Judicium inprisonamenti pro Nicholo Exton'<marginated>

2.

<marginated>quere causam cancellatae postea fol clxxvi<marginated>

3.

Quia ad parliamentum domini Regis Ricardi secundi tentum apud Westm' post festum sancti Michalis anno regni sui sexto<sup>1</sup> Nicholus Exton' Civis & piscenarius London' ibidem cum multis piscenariis sibi adherentibus pluribus vicibus veniebat & contra maiorem aldermannos & c<ommu>nitatem Ciuitatis predictae quasi cum eis pareyam faciendo accessit contra libertatem suam et in quantum in ipso fuit adnullando ordinationes &<sup>2</sup> in Ciuitate predicta per eosdem maiorem & aldermannos pro communi vtilitate factas Et etiam pronunciabat & dicebat coram o<m>nibus dominis regni ibidem congregatis quod iidem maior & aldermanni ordinauerunt quod nullus misteri piscenariorum London' emeret aliquos pisces friscos alicubi super c<o>stas maris vbi nulla talis ordinacio facta fuit & sic super eosdem maiorem & aldermannos menciebatur in pleno parlamento &c. Et i<n>super allegebat in dicto parlamento quod vbi concessum fuit per dictos maiorem & aldermannos quod forinceci ducentes pisces London' ad vendendos dictos pisces possent talliare & scindere & particulariter sic cissos vendere cuilibet eos ementi eadem ro<...>ne videbatur ei vtile & profituum toti communitati regni quod quilibet extraneus posset infra eandem Ciuitatem omidas alias

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. 29th September 1382.

<sup>2</sup> The scribe appears to have skipped a word following '&' here.

mercandisas vendere *particulariter* ad retalliam quod dictum expresse sonabat contra libertatem Ciuitatis London' & dampnum omni civium eiusdem manifestum &c. Et insuper idem Nicholus in eodem parlamento coram militibus Comitatum in refectorio abbathus Westm' dixit quod si ipse inuentus exstisset in domo sua London' nocte *precedenti* rapi & duci debuisset *precepto* maioris *per* medium de chepe vt latro vel cissor bursarum. Et quia maior cum aldermannis inde auisamentum habere voluit sumonire fecit dictos aldermannos contra diem mercurii proximo ante festum sancti Edmundi Regis anno vi predicto<sup>3</sup> &c quibus in Camera Gihalde London' congregatis & de materia *predicta* interloquentibus altercacio inde inter eos oriebatur aliquibus eorum videntibus quod de verbis & factis dictis seu factis in parlamento non potuerunt hic terminari nec iudicium inde reddi aliis ante videbatur iudicium inde hic reddi posset &c. Super quo maior & diuersi aldermanni tunc fuerunt *<i>n*proposito eundi ad dominum Regem & consilium suum vt per eos consuli & auisari possent quale iudicium inde reddere deberent qui quidem Nicholus in eadem camera tunc present hoc percipiens peciit quod ipse admitti posset ad ponendum se in *graciam* maioris & *per e<um>* & aldermannos secundum eorum discrecionem adiudicari &c Rogando quod dicti maior & aldermanni non accederent ad dominum Regem & consilium suum pro iudicio super eum reddendo. Ad cuius rogatum quia ipse tam *verba quam facta predicta* ei superius imposita non dedit set ea cognouit & inde ponit se in *graciam* Curia &c Ideo vt alij de consiliaribus faciendis se precauarent Consideratum est *per Curia* quod idem Nicholus Habeat inprisonamentum per vnum anum proximo futurum nisi *verbio*rem *graciam* inde interim habere possit &c. Et etiam quos ipse de libertate sua Ciuitate *predicte* abuidicetur ad quam non reueniet sine assensu maioris aldermannis & communis consilii eiusdem Ciuitate, quod quidem inprisonamentum postea eodem die ad requisicionem aldermannorum ei condonatur &c. Postea die lune proximo ante festum sancte Katerine virginis tunc proximo sequens<sup>4</sup> dictus Nicholus manucaptus est per Johannem Wroth Johannem Kirketon' Willelmum Stachesden' & Thomam Lincoln' quod ipse se decetero bene & pacifice se geret domino Regi & populo suo & omnibus ministris Ciuitatis *predicte* sub pena mill' marc' soluendi Camerare Ciuitatis London' qui pro tempore fuit; ad opus *communitatis* in casu quo ipse in aliquo *promissorum* deliquerit & inde libere vincatur &c. Et ad dictam solutam

<sup>3</sup> i.e. Wednesday 19th November 1382.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. Monday 24th November 1382.

*faciendam si convictus fuerit vt premittitur tam idem Nicholus quam manucaptos  
sui predicti & quilibet eorum per se concedit soluere.*

## Translation

1.

Judgement of imprisonment for Nicholas Exton

2.

Find the cause of the cancellation below, folio clxxvi.

3.

Because at the parliament of the lord King Richard the Second, held at Westminster after the feast of Saint Michael in the sixth year of his reign, Nicholas Exton, citizen and Fishmonger of London, came there on many occasions with many fishmongers, his adherents, and opposed the mayor, aldermen, and commons of the aforesaid city, as if making a division among them; he came against his franchise and, as much as he was able, annulling ordinances made by the same mayor and aldermen in the aforesaid city for the common good. And likewise he pronounced and said before all the lords of the realm gathered there that the same mayor and aldermen ordered that no guild of fishmongers of London should buy any fresh fish anywhere on the coasts of the sea, when no such order was made. And thus upon that he lied about the mayor and aldermen in full parliament, etc. And in addition, he alleged in the said parliament that whereas it was granted by the said mayor and aldermen that foreigners leading fish to London, to sell the said fish, could cut and tear and particularly sell those thus cut in any way thereby gaining <...> It seemed to him useful and profitable to all the commons of the realm that any sort of foreigner could sell throughout the same city all other merchandise, particularly by retail; that declaration resounded expressly against the freedom of the city of London and in manifest damage to all the citizens of the same. And in addition the same Nicholas in the same parliament, before the knights of the shires in the refectory of the abbey of Westminster said that if he, discovered, should have emerged from his house in London the preceding night he ought to have been seized and led by the order of the mayor through the middle of Cheapside like a brigand or cutter of purses. And because the mayor wished thereupon to have the advice of the aldermen, he did summon the said aldermen on Wednesday next before the feast of Saint Edmund the king in the aforesaid sixth year, etc., and with those gathering in the chamber of the

Guildhall of London and remarking concerning the aforesaid matter, an altercation thereupon arose among them, with some of them considering that they could not conclude or render a judgement concerning the said words and deeds said and made in the parliament, {and} to others it seemed that a judgement could be rendered thereupon, etc. Upon that the mayor and various aldermen then proposed going to the lord the king and his council so they might be advised and counselled by them concerning what judgement they ought to make thereupon; the which Nicholas, then present in the same chamber, perceiving this, begged that he might be permitted to place himself in the grace of the mayor, and by him and the aldermen be judged according to their discretion, etc., asking that the said mayor and aldermen should not approach the lord the king and his council for rendering a judgement upon him. To the which prayer they granted because he did not deny the aforesaid words and deeds put by him above, but acknowledged them and put himself thereupon in the grace of the court. And that they should prevents others from making such council, it is decided by the court that the same Nicholas should have an imprisonment for one future year unless he might have thereupon a gracious word in the meantime, etc. And also he should be deprived of his liberty of the aforesaid city, and not return without the agreement of the mayor, aldermen and common council of the same city, the which imprisonment afterwards on the same day was suspended at the request of the aldermen. Afterwards on Monday next before the feast of Saint Katherine the Virgin then next following the said Nicholas was mainprised by John Wroth, John Kirketon, William Stachesden and Thomas Lincoln that he should henceforth carry himself well and peacefully to the lord the king and his people and all the officers of the aforesaid city upon the penalty of paying to the work of the community one thousand marcs to the chamber of the city of London, that was for that time, in the event that he might fail of his promises in any way, and he was freely sworn thereupon. And he swears by him and each of them to make the said payment if he should be convicted, as was above put by the same Nicholas as well as his mainprisers.



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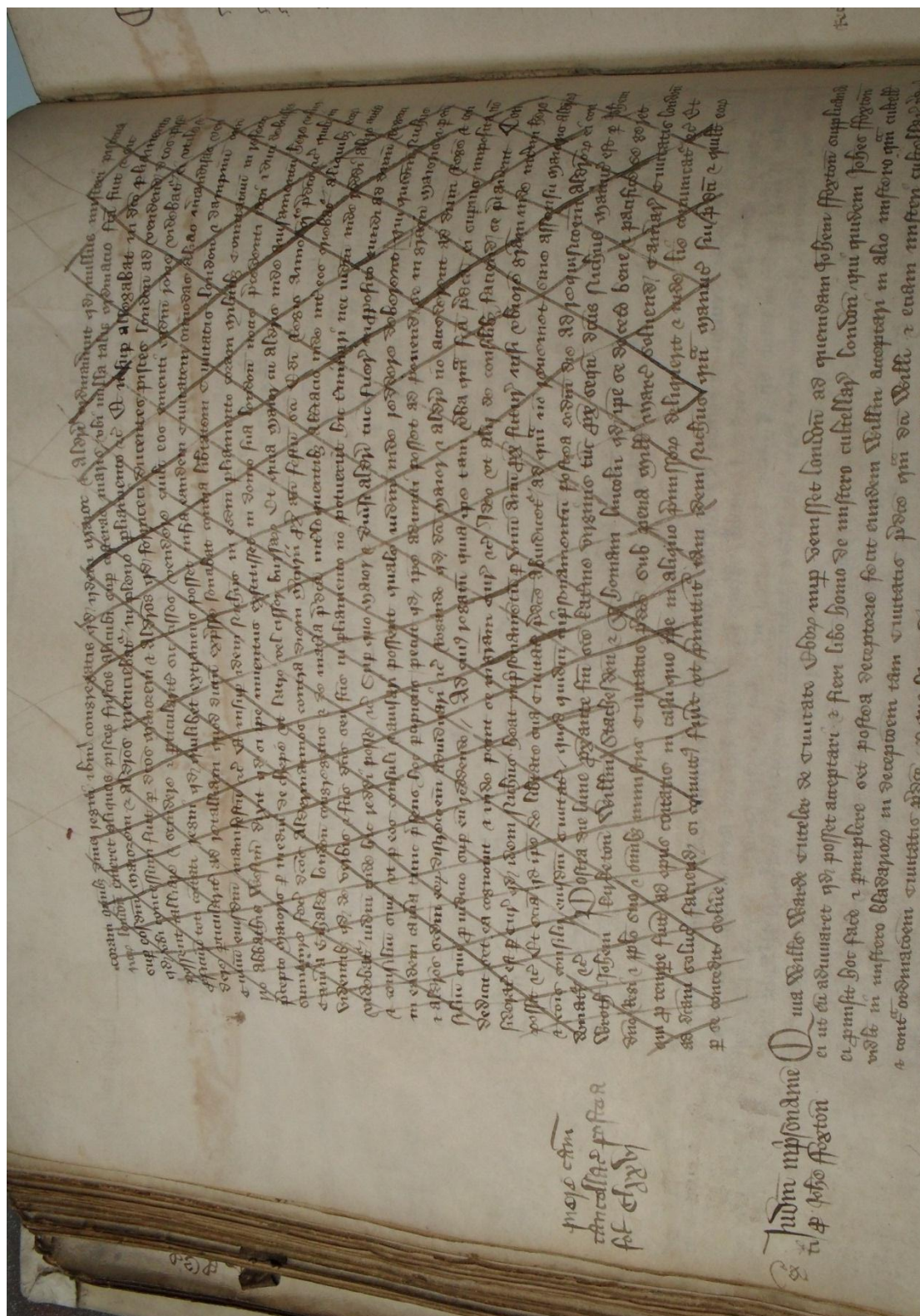


Fig. 11 – Letter-Book H, f. clvii<sup>v</sup>



## 2c) Nicholas Exton's Pardon

Date: 20 June 1384

Language(s): Anglo-Norman, Latin

Source: *Letter-Book H*, f. clxxvi

References: See *CLBH*, pp. 233-34

Notes: I include here an extract from a lengthier entry concerning unrelated business. Sections 3 and 4 appear as a single paragraph in *Letter-Book H*. I split them here for ease of reference.

### Text

1.

<marginated> Adnullacio quorundam iudiciorum super Nicholū Exton'  
redditorum tempore Johannis Norhampton maior <marginated>

2.

As mair & alderman de la Citee de londres supplie Nichol Exton' *que* come nadgeirs Johan Norhampton' lors esteant mair de la dite citee le dit Johan errenousement & saunz iouste & resonable cause le samadi en lendemayn dil assumpcioun de nostre dame lan du regne nostre seignur le Roi qorest sysme<sup>1</sup> remua & deschargea le dit Nichol del office de alderman en la garde de la Ryne la Royne en Londres ou il estoit alderman come plus a plein piert en ceste liuree deuant cestassauoir le foil cliiij.

3.

Et auxint supplie le dit Nich as ditz mair & aldermans *que* come le dit Johan Norhampton' a dit temps de son mairalte le meskerdi *proschien* deuant le feste de seint Edmond le Roi lan sisme auantdit<sup>2</sup> errenousement & nient duement lui foriugga de ses fraunchises & libertees de la Cite de londres & saunz cause resonable lui fist estre lies al chamblein de la Guihall de londres en mill' marcz come plus pleinement piert en mesme ceste liure le foil clvij *que* pleise as ditz mair & aldermans considerer les causes des ditz iugementz comprises es ditz record & les matire diceux & danuller les ditz iugementz ensi errenousement & nient duement renduz & restituter le dit Nicholas a ses franchises & libertees de mesme la citee & lui refaire franc dicele auxi entierement & en mesme la manere come il feut a deuant non obstant les

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. Saturday 16th August 1382.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Wednesday 19th November 1382.

ditz iugementz ensi renduz & retrere le paine des mill marcz issint faite saunz cause resonable.

4.

Les queux suggestiouns & prieres par monseignour Nichol Brembre mair & aldermans plusours foitz viewes & entendues & especialment al *commune* conseil des ditz mair alderman & *communes* somons & assembles pur *commune* conseil de la ditz Citee tenuz le lundi le xx iour de Jun lan de regne nostre <sup>^dit^</sup> seignour le Roi septisme<sup>3</sup> plenerement declarez ou le dit Nichol assigna par erreurs en ceo *que* le dit Nichol fuist foriugge de as aldermanrie nient duement & auxint foriugge de ses franchises & libertees de la dite Citee a cause qil *pursuist* a son lige seignour a Westm' dauoir remede son dit lige seignour des tortz & male gouernance *que* le dit Johan Norhampton' adonques meir esteant fesoit a dit Nichol & autres de la dite Citee. Et auxint fesoit a dit Nichol estre lies en m' marcz saunz cause resonable en ses pointz & autres contenuz es ditz recordz il erroit et *sur* ceo lez dites supplicaciouns & erreurs assignes par le dit Nichol & les ditz recordz viewes & pleinement entendues semble a nous mair aldermans *commune* conseil susditz & a toute la court *que* le dit Nichol par les erreurs assignes par lui & autres erreurs contenuz en mesme les records feut errenousement foiuges de sa aldermanrie & franchise & libertees de la dite cite & la dite reconnaissance de m' marcs saunz due & resonable cause faite. Par quei a garde de la court *que* le dit Nichol soit restitut a ses franchises & libertees de la dite Citee si entierment & pleinement come il les auoit a deuant non obstant les ditz iugementz & *que* la dite reconnaissance de m' marcz soit tret & adnulli par touz iours & par null tenuz. Et outre ceo nous mair & aldermans & *commune* conseil auantditz resceiuoms & restituoms le dit Nichol estre franc homme de la dite Citee & as a dite franchise plenerement en touz points estre restitut el mestier de peonnerie & dauoir & vser & enioyer touz maneres franchises & libertees de mesme a citee selonc la custume de la dite Citee. Et sur ceo les ditz records & reconnaissance autrefoith faitz par comandement des ditz mair & aldermans & *commune* conseil sont tretim & adnullis.

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<sup>3</sup> i.e. Monday 20th June 1384.

## Translation

1.

The annulment of a certain judgement rendered upon Nicholas Exton in the time of John Northampton, mayor.

2.

‘Nicholas Exton prays to the mayor and aldermen of the city of London how that lately John Northampton, then being mayor of the said city, the said John erroneously and without a just and reasonable cause, on Saturday the morrow of the assumption of our lady in the sixth year of the reign of our lord the present king, removed and discharged the said Nicholas from the office of alderman in the keeping of Queenhithe in London where he was aldermen, as plainly appears above in this book, that is to say on folio 154’.

3.

‘And also the said Nicholas prays to the said mayor and aldermen how that the said John Northampton at the said time of his mayoralty, on the Wednesday next before the feast of Saint Edmond the king in the aforesaid sixth year erroneously and unduly deprived him of his franchises and liberties of the city of London, and without reasonable cause made him to be bound to the chamberlain of the Guildhall of London in the sum of one thousand marcs, as more plainly appears in this same book on folio 157. May it please the said mayor and aldermen to consider the causes of the said judgements comprised in the said record and the matter of which, and to annul the said judgements thus erroneously and unduly rendered, and to restore the said Nicholas to his franchises and liberties of the same city and to also re-make him entirely free of the same, and in the same manner as he was before, notwithstanding the said judgements thus rendered and to withdraw the penalty of a thousand marcs thus made without reasonable cause’.

4.

The which suggestions and prayers fully seen and understood by Sir Nicholas Brembre, the mayor, and the aldermen, and especially by the common council of the said mayor, aldermen and the commons summoned for {that} common council of

the said city held Monday the twentieth say of Jun in the seventh year of the reign of our said lord the king. {It} was fully declared that the said Nicholas was badly treated in that the said Nicholas was removed from the aldermanry unduly and also removed from his franchises and liberties of the said city for the cause that he sued to his liege lord at Westminster in order to have a remedy from his said liege lord for the wrongs and bad governance that the said John Northampton, then being mayor, did to the said Nicholas and others of the said city. And also he made the said Nicholas be bound over in the sum of a thousand marcs without reasonable cause, he erred in these points and others contained in the said records. And upon that the said supplications and errors specified by the said Nicholas and the said records, viewed and plainly understood together by us, the aforesaid mayor, aldermen, common council and all the court, that the said Nicholas, by the errors given by him and other errors contained in the same records was erroneously removed from his aldermanry and the franchise and liberties of the said city, the said surety of a thousand marks {was} made without due and reasonable cause. So may it please the keeping of the court, that the said Nicholas be restored to his franchises and liberties of the said city as completely and plainly he had before, notwithstanding the said judgements, and that the said surely of one thousand marcs should be overruled and annulled for all days and not be held. And further that we, the mayor and alderman and aforesaid common council, do receive and restore the said Nicholas to be a free man of the said city and to the said franchise entirely in all points, to be restored to the mystery of fishmongers and to have and use and enjoy all manner of franchises and liberties of the same city according to the custom of the said city. And upon that, the said records and surety previously made, by commandment of the said mayor and aldermen and common council are overwritten and annulled.

### Appendix 3 – John Godefray’s False ‘cappes’

Date: 19 August 1394

Language(s): Anglo-Norman, Latin

Source: *Letter-Book H*, f. cclxxxviii

References: See *CLBH*, pp. 403-04

#### Text

1.

<marginated>*Judicium* & combustio de falsis cappes<marginated>

2.

Quia *per* Thomam Horwode Willelmus Langelee Thomam atte Wode et Ricardum Herlawe magistros & supervisores hurariorum datus fuit Roberto Pell comun Narratori Ciuitatis London’ intelligi quod quidam Johannes Godefray Pynner fait Cappes videlicet xxiiii ad vendendum qui sunt false & deceptorie facte; & cas tam in merrato quam in domo sua vendidit in decepcionem communitatis & scandalum tocius mistieri predicti. Vnde predictus Robertus qui sequitur tam pro maiore & communitate quam pro mistera predicto petit ipsud predictus Johanne Godefray premuniatur essendi hac in Camera Guyhalde Ciuitatis predictae coram maior & aldermannus ad certum diem *per* eos prefigendum &c super quo preceptum est Johannum Parker seruienti Camere quod preminiat eundem Johannem Godefray essendi hic &c. quintodecimo die Augusti Anno regni Regis Ricardis secundi decimo ottauo<sup>1</sup> ad respondendum de premissis &c. Qui quidem Johannes Godefray tunc venit & super premissis allocutus dicit quod cappes predictae sunt bone & sufficientes & non false & deceptorie facte prout ei imponitur &c. Et predictus Robertus dicit quod ipse sunt false & deceptorie facte in dampnum preuidictum tocius communitatis &c. Et petit quod inquiratur prout Curia considerauit &c. Et super hoc quia in ordinacione mistieri predicti irrotulatur irrotulatur<sup>2</sup> in hustengo London’ de placitis terre tento die lune proximo ante festum sancte margarete virginis anno regni Regis Edwardi aui domini Regis nunc tricepimo sexto<sup>3</sup> expresse continetur quod si aliquod opus falsum in eodem mistero unueniri contigerit & hoc *per* probos homines de mistero predicto quam alios probos homines mercatores Ciuitatis predictae

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. 15th of August 1394.

<sup>2</sup> The repetition appears in the manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. Monday 18th of July 1362.

noticiam misteri predicte habentes probatum fuit *quod* tunc illud falsum opus combureretur & ille qui illud faceri solueret Camerario Ciuitatis predicte ad opus *communitatis* xx s &c. Ideo preceptum est eidem seruienti *quod* *summa* xii probos homines vnde vna medietas sit de Cappers & altera de haberdasshers qui vtuntur vendere tales cappes Ita *quod* fuit hic decimo none die Augusti tunc *proximo* &c. ad certificandum Curia vtrum cappes dicti Johannis Godefray sunt false & deceptorie necne &c. Idem dies datus est tam *predicto* Roberto qui sequitur &c *quam* *predicto* Johannum Godefray &c ad quem diem *venerunt* hic tam *predictus* Robertus *quam* Johannes Godefray in *propria persona* sua &c. Et iuratores predicte videlicet Henricus Offyngton Laurencius Godechep Johannes Lapford Thomas Walsyngham Johannes atte Wode Radulphus Bristowe Johannes Lounge Johannes Bate Johannes ffroweyn hureres Johannes Wallok Thomas Church Walterus Causton Johannes Done Johannes Goodburgh Johannes Bokel Johannes Reynold & *Willelmus* atte Gate haberdasshers. Qui dicunt *super* sacramentum suum *quod* predicte Cappes sunt false & deceptorie facte in *decepcionem* *comunitatis*. Ideo *consideratum* est *quod* dicte cappes comburentur in Chepa. Et *quod* dictus Johannes Godefray soluat Camerario Ciuitatis predicte xx s *secundum* *ordinacionem* *predictam* &c.

## Translation

1.

The judging and burning of false caps.

2.

Because by Thomas Horwode, William Langelee, Thomas atte Wode and Richard Harlowe, masters and supervisors of the cap-makers, it was given to Robert Pell, common sergeant of the city of London, to understand how a certain John Godefray, Pinner, made caps, specifically twenty four, to sell, which where made falsely and deceitfully; and he sold this as well in the market as in his house, to the deception of the community and scandal touching the aforesaid mystery. Whence the aforesaid Robert – who pursues on behalf of the mayor and community as well as on behalf of the adoresaid mystery – requests that the aforesaid John Godefray should be warned to be here in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the aforesaid City before the mayor and alderman on a certain day to be given by them, and upon that it John Parker, servant of the chamber, was ordered that he should command that the same John Godefray be here, etc. on the fifteenth day of August in the eighteenth year of the reign of King Richard the Second to respond concerning the aforesaid, etc. The which John Godefray then came and, addressed concerning the above mentioned, said that the aforesaid caps were made well and sufficiently – and not falsely and deceitfully, as is alleged of him, etc. And the aforesaid Robert said that they are falsely and deceitfully made to the aforesaid damage touching the community etc. And he requests that the court invesitgates just as it should be examined, etc. And upon this, because within the ordinances of the aforesaid mystery enrolled in the husting court of London concerning pleas of land held Monday next before the feast of Saint Margaret the Virgin, in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of King Edward, grandfather of the lord the present King, are expressly contained that if any false work in the same mystery should happen to be discovered – and this proven by the good men of the same mystery as well as by other good men, merchants of the aforesaid city having the acquaintance of the said mystery – then that false work would be burnt, and the one who made that should pay to the chamber of the aforesaid city to the work of the community, twenty shillings, etc. Thus is is ordered by the same servant that a total of twelve good men – of which one half should be Cappers and the others

of the haberdashers, who are accustomed to sell such caps should be here on the nineteenth day of August then next to certify in the court whether the caps of the said John Godefray are false and deceitful, or not, etc. The same day was given as well to the aforesaid Robert – who pursues, etc. – as to the aforesaid John Godefray, etc., On the which day the aforesaid Robert as well as John Godefray in his proper person and the aforesaid jurors – specially Henry Offyngton, Laurence Godechep, John Lapford, Thomas Walsyngham, John atte Wode, Ralph Bristowe, John Lounge, John Bate, John Froweyn, cap-makers, John Wallok, Thomas Church, Walter Causton, John Done, John Goodburgh, John Bokel, John Reynold, and William atte Gate, haberdashers – came there. The said upon their oaths that the said caps were falsely and deceitfully made to the deception of the community. Thus it is judged that the said caps would be burnt in Cheapside. And that the said John Godefray should pay to the chamber of the aforesaid city twenty shillings according to the aforesaid ordinance, etc.



## Appendix 4 – John de Stratton’s Forgeries

Date: 1382

Language(s): Latin

Source: *Letter-Book H*, f. cxliii

References: See *CLBH*, p. 181; abbreviated translation in *Memorials*, p. 459

### Text

1.

<marginated>Judicium pilorum pro quadam lettera false facta &  
fabricata<marginated>

2.

Placita tenta in camera Guyhalde Ciuitatis London’ coram maiore & aldermannis  
secundum consuetudinem dicte Ciuitate die lune proximo ante festum  
Annunciationis beate marie virginis anno regni Regis Ricardi secundi quinto.<sup>1</sup>

3.

Johannes de Stratton’ de Comitatu Norff attach fuit ad respondendum tam maiori &  
Communitati london’ quam Thome pottesgrave Ciuis & hostillarus london’ de placito  
decepcionis & falsitatis &c. Et vnde idem Thomas qui tam predictis maiore &  
Communitate quam pro se ipso sequitur dicit quod cum quidam Johannes Croul de  
Godmechestre die lune proximo ante festum sancti Petri aduincula proximo  
preterito<sup>2</sup> misisset eidem Thome london’ in parochia sancti Benedicti de  
Grascherche quandam lettram continentem certum consilium & diuersa intersigna  
inter eos ibi eodem die dictus Johannes Stratton’ videns & legens eandem lettram  
cepit vnam copiam inde in tabulis suis &c. super quo ipse ymaginando ad  
decipiendum dicte Johannem Croul & Thomam fauxit & fabricauit vnam aliam  
lettram continentem eadem intersigna in dicta prima lettera specificata & per eandem  
lettram deceptorie vt predictur factam & fabricatam infra breve tempus postea iuit  
sub nomine eiusdem Thome ad dictam Johannem Croul fingendo ipsum ei per  
dictam Thomam fore missiuii & de eodem Johanne Croul tunc cepit xiii marc’  
argenti & eas penes se retinuit false & deceptorie &c qui quidem Johannes de

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. Monday 24th of March 1382.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Monday 31st of July 1381.

Stratton' eodem die coram dictis maiore & aldermannois allocutus qualiter se velit inde acquietare &c qui gratis cognouit false & decepcionem predictas in forma prenotata in omnibus per ipsum esse factas et vt alii de huius false & decepcionem se precauerent per consuetudinem Ciuitatis predictae in casibus consimilibus vsitatur consideratum est quad idem Johannes Stratton' ducatur ad prisonam de Neugate & abinde eodem die cum tubis & fistulis ducatur per Chepe vsque ad collistrigium super Cornhull & super illud ponatur per vnam horam diei & tunc reducatur vsque prisonam predictam ibidem moraturus vsque crastinum diei predicti quo de iterum ducatur ab inde cum tubis & fistulis vsque collistrigium predictam & per vnam horam diei super illud ponatur &c & tunc reducatur vsque prisonam predictam ibidem moraturus<sup>3</sup> donec eidem Thome satisfecit &c xiii marc' predictis quas per considerationem curie idem Thomas versus ipsum recuperauit &c.

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<sup>3</sup> Possible scribal error for 'moraturus'.

## Translation

1.

Judgement of the pillory for certain letters falsely made and forged.

2.

Pleas held in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London before the mayor and aldermen, according to the custom of the said city, on Monday next before the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary the Virgin in the fifth year of the reign of King Richard the Second.

3.

John de Stratton, from the county of Norfolk, was attached to respond – as well to the mayor and the community of London as to Thomas Pottegrave, citizen and innkeeper of London – concerning a plea of deception and of fraud, etc. And thereupon the same Thomas – who pursues as well for the aforesaid mayor and community as for himself – says that a certain John Croul of Godmechestre, on the Monday next before the feast of Saint Peter's Chains last passed, sent to the same Thomas of London, in the parish of Saint Benedict of Grascherche, a certain letter containing certain counsel and various countersigns between them. There, the aforesaid day, the said John Stratton, seeing and reading the same letter, took a copy from that into his writing tablets, etc. Upon that, scheming within himself to deceive John Croul and Thomas, he counterfeited and forged another letter containing the same countersigns specified in the said first letter. And through the same letter – deceitfully made and forged as is said before – he went within a short time under the name of the same Thomas to the said John Croul pretending that he himself had been sent to him by the said Thomas, and from the same John Croul he then took 13 marks of silver, and he falsely and deceitfully retains the same. The same John de Stratton, on the same day, before the said mayor and aldermen, questioned as to how he wished to acquit himself thereupon, etc., freely recognised the aforesaid wrong and deception, in the form noted above, were in all manners made by him. And so that other such falseness and deception should be prevented it is decided – by the custom of the aforesaid city, as has been practised in similar cases – that the same John Stratton should be taken to the prison of Newgate and from there the same day,

with trumpets and pipes, he should be taken through Cheapside all the way to the pillory upon Cornhill, and be placed upon that for one hour of the day, and then be taken back to the aforesaid prison, to remain in that place until the morrow of the said day, when he was again to be taken from there, with trumpets and pipes, all the way to the aforesaid pillory and be put upon that for one hour of the day, etc., and then be taken back to the aforesaid prison to remain in the place until he might satisfy, etc., the same Thomas for the aforesaid thirteen marks which, through the consideration of the court, the same Thomas received against him, etc.

## Appendix 5 – Richard Norbury, John More, and John Northampton’s Insurrection

Date: 12 September 1384

Language(s): Latin, Anglo-Norman

Source: *Letter-Book H*, f. cxc

References: *CLBH*, pp. 264-65

Notes to Appendix: This entry follows an account of the letters patent issued on the 9th September appointing several men (named below) as Justices for the delivery of Richard Norbury, John More, and John Northampton. Sections 2-5 of this transcription appear as a single paragraph in *Letter-Book H*; for ease of reference I’ve added the divisions here.

### Text

1.

Deliberacio prisone Terris London’ facta ibidem coram prefatis Johanne de Monteacuto senescalli hospitii domini Regis Roberto Tresilian Roberto Bealknap’ Daudid Hanemere Johanne Holt Willelmo de Burgh’ Waltero Cloptoun & W. Rikhil Justiciariis domini Regis &c. secundum tenorem lettrarum domini Regis patencium super dicte die lune proximo post festum nativitatis beati Marie virginis anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum viii.<sup>1</sup>

2.

Ricardus Norbury Mercer Johannes More Mercer & Johannes Norhampton’ Draper indicati coram Nichalo Brembre maiore Ciuitatis London’ virtute cuiusdam brevis domini Regis ei directi de eo quod predicti Ricardus Norbury & Johannes More die jous xi die ffebr’ anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum vii<sup>2</sup> felonice et proditorie cum aliis quorum nomina ignorant insurrexerunt contra Nichalum Brembre maiorem Ciuitatis London’ aldermannos & alios gubernatores eiusdem Ciuitatis & plures alios excitauerunt cum eis ad insurgendum contra statutum domini Regis & Corone sue regie & gubernacionem pacis Ciuitatis predicte per quas excitacionem & insurrectionem fecerunt plures conuenticlas congregaciones & Couinas tam in parochia beati marie atte Bowe quam alibi in diuersis partibus eiusdem Ciuitatis & suburbijs eiusdem. Per quod hostia & fenestre plurimarum domorum & shoparum in Westchepe Bugerowe fletestrete & alibi in Ciuitate &

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. Monday 12th of September 1384.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Thursday 11th of February 1384.

suburbiis *predictis* prius mane aperta postea cito in *signum* insurrectionis clauderantur & serrata fuerunt & *populum* in quantum in eis fuit congregauerunt ymaginando & conspirando felonice & proditorie mortem dicti Nicholi maioris & quorundam aldermannorum & aliorum proborum hominis & sapientum eiusdem Ciuitatis et ad feloniam *predictam* perficiendam in quantum in eis fuit in voluntate exciterunt contra pacem & statutum domini Regis & corone sue regie & tam in perdicionem dictorum Ciuitatis & suburbiorum qua libertatis & gubernacionis eorundem nisi remedium cuius per prefatos maiorem & aldermannos & alios sapientes eiusdem Ciuitatis deo dante manu forti tunc apponebatur. Que quidem congregaciones et conuenticule turbacio rumor tumultus & insurrectio *predicte* extiterunt tam in affraimentum & commocionem tocius bone comunitatis *predictorum* Ciuitatis & suburbiorum quam Cancellariam Thesaurum & Justiciarios domini Regis & Baronum suorum de scaccario & omni aliorum de consilio ipsius domini Regis in eisdem Ciuitate & suburbijs & partibus circumvicinis hospitatis necnon omni aliorum negocia ipsius domini Regis magnatum dictorum et magistrorum suorum & sua in Turris ipsius domini Regis apud Westm' prosequencium. Et *predictus* maior hoc audito assumpsit se cum plures aldermannos & alios sapientes dictorum Ciuitatis & suburbiorum forti manu armatos venerunt in Westchepe *predictam* ad pacem & tranquillitatem dicte domini nostri Regis & Ciuitatis & suburbiorum suorum *predictorum* conseruandum & ad dictas insurreccionem congregaciones & conuenticule cessandum & pacificandum prout tenebantur & eis necessarie oportebat. Et quod *predictis* Johannes Norhampton' de eo quod ipse fuit abetattor & consulens & auxilians ad dictas insurreccionem congregaciones & conuenticlas sic felonice & proditorie subortas perpetratas & factas die Jouis *predicto*.

3.

Quod quid indicamentum dominus Rex inter alia vna cum breue *predicto* misit coram prefatis Justiciariis hic sub pede sigilli sui mandans vt hijs visis vlterius ad deliberacionem prisone *predicte* de prefatis Ricardo & alijs *predictis* in prisona *predicta* detentis procederent &c modo venit coram prefatis Justiciariis hic per Constabularium Turris *predicte* de mandato domini Regis ducti qui alias in custodia sua per preceptum ipsius Regis & consilij sui commissi fuerunt. Et *predictus* Ricardus Norbury & Johannes More instanter per justiciarios allocuti sunt

seperatim qualiter de feloniis & proditoribus predictis vnde ipsi sic superius indicati sunt se velint acquietare predicti Ricardus Norbury & Johannes More seperatim gratis concedunt & expresse cognoscunt quod ipsi sunt culpabiles de feloniis & proditoribus predictis vnde ipsi sic superius indicati sunt. Ideo consideratum est quod ijdem Ricardus Norbury & Johannes More a predicta Turri per medium Ciuitatis London' superdicte vsque ad Tyburn' distrahantur & ibidem suspendantur & inquiratur de terris & catallis suis &c. Et quia predicti Ricardus Norbury & Johannes More de principali facto feloniarum & proditorum predictarum in forma predicta iam commiti sunt predictus Johannes Norhampton' instanter allocutus est qualiter de abetto consilio et auxilio predictis se velit acquietare qui quidem Johannes Norhampton' gratis concedit & expresse cognoscit quod ipse culpabile est de abetto consilio & auxilio predictis ad felon' & prodit' predictas felonice & proditorie faciendas in forma qua ipse superius indicatus est. Ideo consideratum est quod idem Johannes Norhampton' a predicta turri per medium eiusdem Ciuitatis vsque ad Tyburn' predictae distrahatur & ibidem suspendatur & inquiratur de terris & catallis suis &c. Et super hoc venit Michael de la Pole domini Regis Cancellarius & protulit quedam brevia domini Regis de priuato sigillo suo signata voluntatem domini Regis in hac parte continencia Justiciis hic directa videlicet vnum breve pro prefato Ricardo Norbury in hec verba

4.

Richard par la grace de dieu Roy dengleterre & de ffrance & Seignour dirland' a nostre chier & loial Johan de Montagu seneschal de nostre hostell' & a ses compaignons assignez par nostre commissioun dessouz nostre graunt seall a deliuerer la prisone de nostre Toure de loundres de Richard Norbury mercer et dautres esteantz en mesme la prisone salutem. Combien que par vertue de nostre dit Commissioun la dit Richard areignez deuant vous des certains felonies & tresons soyt par vous adiuggez a la mort solonc la ley de nostre roialme, nientmains de nostre grace especiale nous volons & vous mandons que vous surseiez de faire mettre en execucioun le dit iuggement tanque vous nous eueons autrement signifiez nostre volunte. Done souz nostre priue seal a Westm' le xii iour de Septembre lan de nostre regne septisme.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> i.e. Saturday 12th of September 1383.

5.

Et de prefato Johanne More quoddam aliud *consimile* breve. Et de prefato Johanne Norhampton' quoddam aliud *consimile* breve. Pretextu quorum brevium de executionem iudiciorum *predictorum* super prefatis Ricardo Norbury Johanne More & Johanne Norhampton' faciendum supersessum est quousque &c secundem tenorem brevium *predictorum* &c.



## Translation

1.

Delivery from prison in the Tower of London, made there before the aforesaid John de Montague, Steward of the Household of the lord the king, Robert Tresilian, Robert Belknap, David Hanemere, John Holt, William de Burgh, Walter Clopton, and William Rikhil, justices of the lord the King, etc., according to the tenor of the abovesaid letters patent of the lord the king, on Monday next after the feast of the Nativity of the blessed Virgin Mary, in the eight year of the reign of King Richard II after the Conquest.

2.

Richard Norbury, Mercer, John More, Mercer, and John Northampton, Draper, indicted before Nicholas Brembre, mayor of the city of London, by virtue of a certain writ of the lord the king sent to him, in that the aforesaid Richard Norbury and John More, on Thursday the eleventh day of February in the seventh year of the reign of King Richard the Second after the Conquest, feloniously and treasonably with others, whose names are not known, rose up against Nicholas Brembre, mayor of the city of London, the aldermen, and the other governors of the same city; and they stirred up many others with them to rise up, against the statute of the king and his royal crown and {against} the control of the peace of the aforesaid city, through which incitement and rising up they made many conventicles, congregations, and covins, as well in the parish of St Mary at Bow as elsewhere in various parts of the same city and in the suburbs of the same. As a result of which, the doors and windows of many houses and shops in Westcheap, Bugarow, Fleet Street and elsewhere in the city and aforesaid suburbs {which} earlier in the morning were open, were soon afterwards shut and they were locked, as a sign of the rising up; and, as much as was in them, they assembled the people, feloniously and treasonably scheming and conspiring {towards} the death of the said mayor Nicholas, and of certain of the aldermen and of other good and wise men of the same city; and to execute the aforesaid felony, they, as much as was in them, willingly rose up against the peace and the statute of the lord the king and his royal crown as well to the destruction of the city and the suburbs, as to the liberties and governance of the same, unless, God willing, a remedy was then applied, with strong hand, by the said

mayor and aldermen and other wise men of the same city. The which aforesaid congregations and conventicles, turbulence, rumour, commotion and insurrection incited fear and agitation as well touching the good community of the aforesaid city and suburbs as to the Chancellor, Treasurer, and the justices of the lord the king and his barons of the exchequer, and all the others of the counsel of the lord the king himself loding in the same city and suburbs and parts neighbouring and also all the others pursuing the business of the lord the king himself, of his said magnates and of his masters in the tower of the lord the king himself at Westminster. And the aforesaid mayor, having heard this, assembling within himself many aldermen and other wise {men} of the said city and suburbs came, with strong hand, armed, into the aforesaid Cheapside to preserve the peace and tranquility of the said lord our king and of his aforesaid city and suburbs, and to end and pacify the said insurrection, congregations, and conventicles, just as they were bound to do and was vitally necessary to them. And that the said John Northampton was himself an abettor and counsellor and helper to the said insurrection, congregations, and conventicles thus feloniously and treasonably formed, made, and carried through on the aforesaid Thursday.

3.

The lord the king sent this indictment with, among other things, the aforesaid writ, before the aforesaid justices with his command under the foot of his seal. These inspected further, they proceeded to deliver from the aforesaid prison the aforesaid Richard and the aforesaid others detailed in the aforesaid prison, etc. And now they came here before the aforesaid justices, {brought} by the aforesaid constable of the Tower commanded by the demand of the lord the king, those who were previously committed into his custody by the order of the king himself and his council. And the aforesaid Richard Norbury and John More individually were urgently addressed by the justices as to how they would wish to acquit themselves concerning the aforesaid felonies and treasons in which they are thus indicted above; the aforesaid Richard Norbury and John More individually freely conceded and clearly acknowledged that they are culpable concerning the aforesaid felonies and treasons in which they are thus indicted above. Therefore it is agreed that the same Richard Norbury and John More should be dragged from the aforesaid Tower through the middle of the abovesaid city of London all the way to Tyburn, and there be hanged, and be

examined concerning their lands and chattels, etc. And because the aforesaid Richard Norbury and John More are now committed in the aforesaid manner concerning the principal making of the aforesaid felony and treason, the aforesaid John Northampton was urgently addressed as to how he would wish to acquit himself concerning the aforesaid abetting, counselling and helping; the which John Northampton freely conceded and clearly acknowledged that he is culpable concerning the aforesaid abetting, counselling, and helping to the aforesaid felonies and treasons feloniously and treasonably made in the manner that is judged above. Therefore it is agreed that the same John Northampton should be dragged from the aforesaid Tower through the middle of the same until all the way to the aforesaid Tyburn, and there be hanged, and be examined concerning his lands and chattels, etc. And upon this came Michael de la Pole, Chancellor of the lord the king, and produced a certain writ from our lord the king sealed with his privy seal touching the lord the king's wishes in this case directed here to the justices, specifically one writ for the aforesaid Richard Norbury in these words:

4.

‘Richard, by the grace of God king of England and of France and lord of Ireland, to our dear and lawful John de Montagu, steward of our household, and to his companions assigned by our commission under our great seal to deliver from the prison of our Tower of London Richard Norbury, Mercer, and others being in the same prison, greetings. Although by virtue of our said commision, the said Richard addressed before you concerning certain felonies and treasons was judged by you to the death according to the law of our realm, nevertheless by our special grace we wish and we command that you cease to put in execution the said judgement until we have signified our wishes. Given under our privy seal at Westminster, the 12th day of September in the seventh year of our reign.’

5.

And concerning the aforesaid John More a certain other similar writ. And concentering the aforesaid John Northampton, a certain other similar writ. By reason of these writs concerning the execution of the aforesaid judgement made upon Richard Norbury, John More, and John Northampton is stayed until etc., according to the tenor of the aforesaid writs, etc.

## Appendix 6 – Brembre's Proclamations

### 6a) Proclamation 1

Date: 5th June 1378

Language(s): Anglo-Norman, Latin

Source: *Letter-Book H*, f. lxxxvi

References: See *CLBH*, p. 92

#### Text

1.

<marginated>Proclamacion *que*

*que* nul voise wakerant *apres* x de la clocke

*que* tauerner ne braceour tiegne huis ouert *apres* le dit temps

*item que* chescun eit ewe esteante en vessel deuant son huys

*item que* nul face congregacion ne couyne<marginated>

2.

Soit proclamacion faite *que* nul soit si hardy daler wakerant deinz la Cite ne suburbe diceles *apres* x de la clocke dil ne soit homme de bone fame ou seruant alant el seruice son mestre & ce oue lumere sur peyne denprisonement & fyn faire solonc lauys du mair forpris ministres de la Cite & gentz assignez de faire les gaytes es gardes de la Cite.

3.

*Item que* nul tauerner ne braceour tiegne huis ouert *apres* mesme le temps sur mesme la peyne.

4.

*Item que* chescun homme destat eit deuant son huys vne kene ou tyne pleyne dewe esteante *par iour* & nost pur la seccheresse en ce temps deste *par* quele en cas *que* sodeyn feu auerisist *que* dieu deffende la Cite purroit le plus tost socorn & eide & le dit feu esteynt.

5.

Item *que* nul face congregacion ne couyne *par* noet ne *par* iour *par* quele la pes  
nostre *seignour* le Roi & de la Cite purroit estre enfreynte, riote ou contek  
auscunement sourdre sur peyne denprisonement & de *quant* qil purra forfaire deuers  
nostre *seignour* le Roi & la Cite

6.

Ista proclamacio *facta* fuit in vigilia Pentecost anno *Regni Regis Richardi Secundi*  
primo.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. Saturday 5th of June 1378.

## Translation

1.

Proclamation that:

That no-one should come wandering after ten o'clock.

That innkeeper nor brewer should hold open {his} door after the said time.

Also that every man should have water in a vessel before his door.

Also that no-one should make a congregation or covein.

2.

May proclamation be made that no-one should be so bold as to go wandering within the city or suburb of the same after ten o'clock, unless he was a man of good fame or a servant going in the service of his master with a torch, upon the penalty of imprisonment and to make a fine according to the laws of the mayor, except for the leaders of the city and men appointed to keep the gates and watches of the city.

3.

Also that no innkeeper nor brewer should hold open his door after the same time upon the same penalty.

4.

Also that every man of position should have before his house one pitcher or barrel full of water by day and night because of the dryness in times of hot weather; by which in the event that a sudden fire might happen (which God forbid), the city would as soon as possible be helped and aided, and they might extinguish the said fire.

5.

Also that no-one should make a congregation nor a covein by night nor by day, by which the peace of our lord the king and of the city might be hindered, {or} riot or discord in any way raised, upon the penalty of imprisonment and of however much that he would forfeit to our lord the king and the city.

6.

This proclamation was made on the vigil of Pentecost in the first year of the reign of King Richard II.

## 6b) Proclamation 2

Date: Late-1383, early-1384. This text has no dating clause nor any internal clue as to its date. In *Letter-Book H*, this proclamation appears between an entry dated to the 27th of November 1383 and one dated to the 20th of January 1384. The entries in the letter books are not presented in perfect chronological order, and some entries appear significantly misplaced. However, there is no reason to assume this entry has been displaced, and given that it coincides with Brembre's second stint as mayor.

Language(s): Middle English, Latin

Source: *Letter-Book H*, f. clxxii

References: Transcribed in *A Book of London English*, pp. 31-32; *Memorials*, pp. 480-81. See also *CLBH*, p. 226.

### Text

1.

<marginated>Proclamacio de congregacionibus conuenticlis & conspiracionibus non faciendis<marginated>

2.

The mair shirreues and aldermen and alle other wyse wyth hem that habbeth the gouernaille of the Citee vnder oure lige lord the kyng by vertue of the chartre of oure franchise Comaundeth in the kynges bihalf and on hire owene also that noman make none congregaciouns conuenticules ne assemblies of poeple in priue nen apert Ne nomore craftes than other men with oute leue of the mair Ne ouermore in none manere ne make alliances confederacies conspiracies ne obligaciouns forto bynde men to gidre forto susteyne eny quereles in lyuyngge and deyengge to gidre vpon peyne of <sup>en</sup>prisonement<sup>e</sup> vche man that is yfounde in swich defaute and his body at the kyngges wille and forfaiture of al that he may forfait ayens oure lorde the kyng as wel in tenementz as in catel and ouermore the mair shirreues and aldermen willeth & graunteth power to euery fre man of the Citee, as wel as to officers, that yef eny man <sup>of hem</sup> may aspie any swich congregaciouns or couynes in gaderyng or ygadered to areste hem & eche persone of hem and brynge hem also blyue to fore the mair yef he is at leiser or elles to Neugate in to tyme that the mair may attende ther to.



### 6c) Proclamation 3

Date: 15th August 1384. The day and month is given in the proclamation. The proclamation appears in *Letter-Book H* among other materials from 1384.

Language(s): Anglo-Norman

Source: *Letter-Book H*, f. clxxx

References: See *CLBH*, p. 247.

#### Text

1.

<marginated>Proclamacioun *que* null face congregacioun ne assemble Ne *que* null gite robouse en thamise walbrok ne flete<marginated>

2.

Puis apres en la feste dil assumpcioun nostre dame<sup>2</sup> proclamacioun fuist fait en manere *que* ensuyt Soit proclamacioun fait *que* null manere des gentz de quel condicioun qils soient nient plus gentz dascun mister *que* autres ne fassent congregacioun couyne ne assemble en priue ne apert, ascun part en nulle manere, sanz licence ou conge de meir ou de son lieutenant, sur peyne de forfaiture de corps & des biens & de qan*que* ils purront forfaire enuers nostre *seignour* le Roi & la citee & qi *que* face acontrarie soit pris maintenant & mys en prisone tan*que* nostre dit *seignour* le Roi en eit fait sa volente de lui ne *que* nul ne voise wakerant en la ffranchise de la Citee apres ix de la klokke fors ministres de la dite Citee & ceux *que* vount oue eux pur sauve garde de la pees sur peyne auant dite. Et *que* nullui ne gite ne mette ne face gitter ne mettre nulles ionkes fyens robouse estreym nautre chose *queconque* en leawe de thamyse walbrok, ne fflete sur peyne denprisonement & de faire fyn a volunte des mair & aldermans.

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<sup>2</sup> i.e. 15th of August, which in 1384 was a Monday.

## Translation

1.

Proclamation that no-one should make a congregation nor an assembly, and that no-one should throw rubbish into the Thames, Walbrook, or Fleet.

2.

Then afterwards, on the feast of the assumption of our lady, a proclamation was made in the manner that follows: 'May proclamation be made that no manner of men of whatever condition that they should be, neither the great men of any mystery nor others, should make a congregation, covin, nor assembly, in private or openly, in any part, in no manner, without licence or permission of the mayor or of his lieutenant upon the penalty of forfeiture of body and goods, and of all they might forfeit to the our lord the king and the city. And anyone who should act to the contrary should be immediately taken and put in prison until our said lord the king should have delivered his intention to them. And that no-one should come wandering in the franchise of the city after nine of the clock except for the leaders of the said city and those that should go with them for the safekeeping of the peace, upon the aforesaid penalty. And that no-one should throw or put or should cause to throw or put any junk, droppings, rubbish, litter, nor any other thing whatsoever in the water of the Thames, Walbrook, or Fleet, upon the penalty of imprisonment and to make a fine to the wishes of the mayor and aldermen'.

#### 6d) Proclamation 4

Date: 20th September 1384

Language(s): Anglo-Norman, Latin

Source: *Letter-Book H*, f. clxxx<sup>v</sup>

References: *CLBH*, p. 249

#### Text

1.

<marginated>Proclamacioun *que* nulluy ne face congregacioun<marginated>

2.

Nous comandoms depar *nostre* seignour le Roy *que* nulles maneres des gentz nient plus hommes *que* femmes de quele condicioun qils soient ne facent congregacioun couine ne conuenticule quelconque en priue ne en apert pur nulle sute ne pur autre chose faire sanz conge & assent des mair & Aldermans sur peyne de forfaiture de qanque ils purront forfaire enuers *nostre* dit seignour le Roi en corps & en biens.

3.

*Memorandum quod ista proclamacio facta fuit in vigilia sancti Mathei anno regni regis Ricardi secundi octauo.*<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> i.e. Tuesday 20th of September 1384.

## **Translation**

1.

Proclamacion that no-one should make a congregation.

2.

We command on behalf of our lord the king that no manner of people – no more men than women, of whatever condition that they might be – should make a congregation, covine or conventicle whatsoever, privately or openly, for no purpose, nor make any other thing without the knowledge and agreement of the mayor and aldermen, upon the penalty of forfeiture of all that they might forfeit in body and in goods to our said lord the king.

3.

Be it remembered that this proclamation was made on the vigil of Saint Matthew in the eighth year of the reign of King Richard the Second.

## 6e) Proclamation 5

Date: September/October 1385. This proclamation is undated. It appears in *Letter-Book H* amongst entries from October 1385 and it may reasonably be assumed this proclamation dates from shortly before the mayoral elections of that year.

Language(s): Anglo-Norman

Source: *Letter-Book H*, f. cxcvi

References: *CLBH*, p. 274

### Text

1.

<marginated>Qe nul viegne al eleccioun de meir sil ne soit somons ne face congregacioun &c en destourbance de la pes<marginated>

2.

Pur ceo *que* auant ses houres en diuerses temps as elecciouns des mair & viscontes *par* multitude de poeple des gentz *que* ne sont pas somons sibien des seruantz come estrangers & gentz nient enfranchises venantz ala Guihalle grant cry & clamour ount este en tielx elecciouns si bien en *grant* affray des *seignours* & autres repeirantz a la dite cite come des bones gentz dicele par qoi nous comandoms si bien *depar nostre seignour* le Roi come *par* nous mesmes *que* null ne soit si hardi de aprocher ne venir ala dite Guihalle a iour del eleccioun de mair sinoun les mair aldermans & bones gentz somons a yceo. Ne *que* null ne face congregacioun assemble signe ne continance *que* puisse soner en destourbance de la peas de la dite eleccioun ne encontre la gouernance de la dite Citee sur peyne de forfaiture de qan*que* ils purront forfaire a *nostre* dit *seignour* le Roi.

## **Translation**

1.

That no-one should come to the election of the mayor unless he should be summoned, nor make a congregation, etc., to the disturbance of the peace.

2.

Because that before these times, in various periods, the elections of the mayor and sheriffs have been by the multitude of people, of men that were not summoned, as well as by servants as strangers and men not enfranchised, coming to the Guildhall for such elections {with} great cry and clamour, as well to the great fear of the lords and others repairing to the said city, as to the good men of the same. So we command, as well on the part of our lord the king as on the part of us, that none should be so bold as to approach or come to the said Guildhall on the day of the election of the mayor, except for the mayor, aldermen, and the good men summoned to that. And that none should make a congregation, assembly in sign or appearance that might resound to the disturbance of the peace of the said election, or against the governance of the said city, upon the penalty of forfeiture of all that they might forfeit to our said lord the king.

## 6f) Proclamation 6

Date: ?October 1386. This proclamation appears immediately prior to an entry confirming Exton's election to the mayoralty and we can assume the proclamation was made in the run up to that election.

Language(s): Anglo-Norman, Latin

Source: *Letter-Book H*, f. cciv<sup>v</sup>

References: *CLBH*, p. 289

### Text

1.

<marginated>*Quod* nullus sit ad *eleccionis* maioris nisi illi qui sunt sumoniti pro eadem<marginated>

2.

Pur ceo *que* auant ses houres en diuverses temps as elecciouns des mair & viscountes *par* multitude de poeple des gentz *que* ne sont pas somons sibien des seruantz come estraungers & gentz nient enfranchises venantz ala Gihalle *grant* cry & clamour ount este en tielx elecciouns sibien en *grant* affray des *seignours* & autres repeirantz ala dite Citee come des bones gentz dicele. Par *quoi* nous comandoms sibien de*par* *nostre seignour* le Roi come *par nous* mesmes *que* null ne soit si hardy de aprocher ne venir ala dite Gihalle a iour del eleccioun de mair sinoun les mair aldermans & bones gentz somons a iceo. Ne que null ne face congregacioun assemble signe ne continance *que* puisse soner en destourbance de la pees ne de la dite eleccioun encountre la gouernance de la dite Citee sur peyne de forfaiture de can*que* ils purront forfaire enuers *nostre* dit *seignour* le Roi.

## **Translation**

1.

That no-one should be at the election of the mayor except for those who are summoned for the same.

2.

Because that before these times, in various periods, the elections of the mayor and sheriffs have been by the multitude of people, of men that were not summoned, as well as of servants as of strangers and men not enfranchised, coming to the Guildhall for such elections {with} great cry and clamour, as well to the great fear of the lords and others repairing to the said city, as to the good men of the same. So we command, as well on the part of our lord the king as on the part of us, that none should be so bold as to approach or come to the said Guildhall on the day of the election of the mayor, except for the mayor, aldermen, and the good men summoned to that. And that none should make a congregation, assembly in sign or appearance that might resound to the disturbance of the peace or of the said election, against the governance of the said city, upon the penalty of forfeiture of all that they might forfeit to our said lord the king.



## Appendix 7 – The 1388 Guild Petitions

### 7a) The Pinner's Petition

Language(s): Anglo-Norman, Latin

Source: TNA, SC 8/21/1003

Manuscript: 46cm x 20.6cm [40.2cm x 15.4 cm]. Condition very good; part of left margin missing, but no text lost; some creasing to right margin obscuring some words

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#### Text

1.

A tresexellent & trespuissant *seignour* nostre tresredote *seignour* le Roy & as tresnobles & sages *seignours* diceste present parlement.

Supplient <tre>shumblement sez pouerez lizez Pynneres de sa Citee de loundres & se pleignout vers Nichol B<r>embre chivaler & autres sez acomplices de soun assent Deceo *que* le dite *seignour* Nichol ou lassent de les autres *queux* feurent d<e son> ass<ent accr>ocha sur luy Roial poair de ceo *que par* la ou ad estez vsee en la dite Citee tout temps dount nule memoire ne court & *par lour chartre* des Roys *grauntez* & confermez qaunt le maire de loundres serra eslutz y serra esluz *par la c<ommunealte &> fran<k> gentz* du dite Citee la les auantditz *seignour* Nichol & les autres sez acomplices *par lour conspiracie* & faux ymaginacion *pour destruire bonez gentz* du dit Citee & le bone gouvernaile <enco>untre la fraunchise dicell fisrent s<o>mo<undre> {certeins gentz *queux*} feurent de *lour assent* al Gyhalle de la dite Citee en la ffeste de seint Edward lan du regne nostre *seignour* le Roy qorest eoptisme<sup>1</sup> *pour eslire vn meire*. Et le dite *seignour* Nichol *par assent* de toutz les autres fist crier en diuerses parties {du dite Citee &} ch<ar>ger chescun home de la dite Citee sur peyne demprisonement & sur le peyne de quanques quils purroient forfaire devers le Roy *que* nul ne serroit si hardy destre al dite ellectioun fors ceux *que* feurent somouns & ceux *que* feurent som<ouns> feurent somouns *par lour assent*. Et mesme le iour a cele ellectioun *que* fuist fait encountre *lour ffraunchise* le dite *seignour* Nichol & les autres de soun assent ordeynerent certeinz gentz si bien foreyns come d<...><sup>2</sup> a *graunt* noubre les *queux* feurent armez al Gyhall de loundres *pour faire* cele ellectioun & *pour auoir mys a mort* toutz autres gentz *queux*

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. 13th of October 1383.

<sup>2</sup> An unclear new word appears to be written over an erasure.

ne furent pas somouns sils eurent la venuz *pour* la dite ellection. Parquei plese a nostre dite *seignour* le Roy & les tresnobles & sagez *seignours* en ceste present parlement diceste horrible chose faite encountre ley & corone ent faire due remedie *pour* dieu & en eoure de charite.

2.

<It>em les ditz suppliantz se pleignent vers le dite *seignour* Nichol deceo quil oue lassent des autres auant ditz de sa couyg<ne> accrocha sur luy Roial poair deceo quilz conspirerent & ymaginerent *pour* auoir mys al mort plusours bones ge<ntz> de l<oun>dres <&> *pour* ceo quilz ne purroient faire cele chose sanz ascun cause ils conspirerent eux enditer de felonie ou de tresoun & mistrent sur les enquestes de eux enditer ceux *que* feurent del affinite & assent du dite *seignour* Nichol & se<s> a<co>mplices & queux feurent de male fame come ouertement serra prouez si les enditemens feurent deuant vous. Qe plese a nostre dite *seignour* le Roy & les *seignours* auant ditz de ceste horrible matiere ent faire due remedie & charger Nichol Exton ore maire de loundres fa<ire> venir deuant vous <to>utz les enditemens queux sont en sa garde en auauntage du Roy *pour* dieu & en eoure de charite.

3.

<It>em les ditz suppliantz suppliount *que* lestatut fait al parlement tenuz a Westm' lan du regne nostre dite *seignour* le Roy sisme<sup>3</sup> *que* comence en ceste paroles Item *ordinatum est & statutum quod nec in ciuitate London' nec in aliis <ciuitatibus bur>gis villis vel portibus maris par totum regnum predictum aliquis vitallarius officium iudiciale de cetero habeat exerceat neque ocupet quouis modo nisi in villis vbi alia persona sufficiens ad huius statum habendum reperiri non <poterit> dum tamen idem Iudex pro tempore quo in officio illo steterit ab exercicio vitallarii sub pena forisfacture victuallium suorum sic venditorum penitus cesset & se absteineat pro se & suis omino ab eodem la contrarie de quel estatut est vsee en mesme la Citee. Qe plese a nostre dite *seignour* le Roy & les *seignours* auant ditz graunter *que* le dite estatut soit tenuz si bien en la dite c<ite>e come aillours & meyntenant mys en execucioun nient encountre esteant ascun estatut ou ordinance fait a lencountre de puy en cea.*

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<sup>3</sup> i.e. 1382-83 (the statute was enacted in 1382).

## Translation

1.

To the most excellent and most powerful lord, our most dread lord the king, and to the most noble and wise lords of this present parliament pray most humbly the poor lieges the Pinner of his city of London, and they complain against Nicholas Brembre, knight, and others, his accomplices of his party, thereof: that the said Sir Nicholas, with the agreement of the others who were of his party, accroached to himself royal power in that whereas it has been practised in the said city from time immemorial – and granted and confirmed by their charter of kings – {that} when the mayor of London will be elected he will be elected by the commonalty and free men of the said city, the aforesaid Sir Nicholas and the others, his accomplices, by their conspiracy and false scheming – in order to destroy the good men of the said city and the good governance, against the franchise of the same – summoned certain men who were of their party to the Guildhall of the said city on the feast of Saint Edward, in the seventh year of the reign of our lord the present king, in order to elect a mayor. And the said Sir Nicholas, by the agreement of all the others, proclaimed in various parts of the said city and charged each man of the said city – upon the penalty of imprisonment and upon the penalty of all that they could forfeit to the king – that no-one should be so bold as to be at the said election except for those who were summoned, and those who were summoned were summoned by their agreement. And the same day at that election that was made against their franchise, the said Sir Nicholas and the others of his party ordained certain men, foreigners as well as <...> to a great number, the which were armed at the Guildhall of London in order to make that election and in order to have put to death all other men who were not summoned if they should have come there for the said election. So may it please our said lord the king and the most noble and wise lords in this present parliament of this horrible thing, made against the law and the crown, to thereof make due remedy, for God and as a work of charity.

2.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of the aforesaid others of his covin, accroached to himself royal power in that they conspired and schemed in order to have put to death many good men of

London; and because they could not do that thing without some cause, they conspired to indict them of felony or of treason, and they appointed as officers of the inquests to indict them those who were of the accord and party of the said Sir Nicholas and his accomplices, and who were of bad renown – as openly will be proven if the indictments were before you. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords of this horrible matter to thereof make due remedy and to charge Nicholas Exton, now mayor of London, to make come before you all the indictments which are in his keeping, to the advantage of the king, for God and as a work of charity.

3.

Also the said suppliants pray concerning the statute made at the parliament held at Westminster in the sixth year of the reign of our said lord the king that begins in these words: “Also it is ordained and established that neither in the city of London nor in other cities, boroughs, villages or ports of the sea, throughout all the aforesaid kingdom, may any victualler henceforth hold, practice, or occupy judicial office in any way, except in villages where some qualified person to hold this position cannot be found, provided that the same judge, for the time that he remains in that office, utterly ceases from the practice of a victualler upon the penalty of forfeiture of their victuals sold in such a way, and that he abstains, for him and all his, from the same”; the contrary of which statute is practised in the same city. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords to grant that the said statute should be held as well in the said city as elsewhere and forthwith put into execution against any statute or ordinance being subsequently made to the contrary in any way.

## 7b) The Founders' Petition

Language(s): Anglo-Norman, Latin

Source: TNA, SC 8/21/1002

Manuscript: 45.2cm x 26.2 cm [39.2cm x 17.1cm]. Condition very good; upper left corner missing, but minimal damage to the text; slight creasing and blackening to right-hand margin obscuring some text.

### Text

1.

A tresexellent & trespuissant *seignour* nostre tresdote *seignour* le Roy & As  
Tresnobles & tresages *seignours* diceste present parlement.

<S>upplient treshumblement sez pouerez lizez ffoundours de sa Citee de loundres &  
se pleignent vers Nichol Brembre chivaler. Qe come le dite *seignour* Nichol oue ses  
acomplises *que* furront de soun assent accrocha sur l<uy> Roial poair Deceo *que* par  
la ou astee vsee en la dite Citee toutz temps dount nule memoire ne court & par lour  
chartre des Roys *grauntes* & confermez qaunt le maire de loundres serra esl<ut>z y  
serra esluz par la *communealte* du dite Citee & nemye par estrangers ne par vitailers  
la les auant ditz *seignour* Nichol & les autres sez acomplises par lour conspiracie &  
faux ymaginacioun pour destruire bonez gent de diuerses mistiers du dite Citee<e>  
encoun<tre> l<a> {franchise} dicell fisrent somondre certeinz gentz *queux* feurent  
de lour assent ala Gyhall du dite Citee en la ffeste de seynt Edward le Roy lan du  
regne nostre *seignour* le Roy qorest setisme<sup>4</sup> pour eslire vn maire. Et le dite *seignour*  
Nichol par as<sent de> ses acomplys fist criez en diuerses parties du dite Citee &  
charger chescun homme de la dite Citee *que* fuissent eouerours sur peyne  
demprisonement & sur la peyne de quanque ils purront forfaire devers le Roy *que*  
nul ne serroit si hardy destre al dite eleccioun fors ceux *que* feurent somouns & ceux  
*que* feurent somouns feurent somouns de lour assent. Et mesme le iour a cele  
elleccioun *que* fuist fait encountre lour ffranchise le dite *seignour* Nichol  
ordeig<ner>ont certeinz gentz s<i bie>n foreyns come vitailers du dite Citee a  
*graunt* noumbre les *queux* furent armez ala Gyhall de loundres pour faire cele  
elleccioun & pour auoir mys au mort toutz autres gentz *queux* ne feurent s<omouns  
si>ls eussent la venuz pour la dite elleccioun. Parquei plese a nostre dite *seignour* le  
Roy & les tresnobles & sages *seignours* en ceste present parlement de ceste horrible

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<sup>4</sup> i.e. 13th of October 1383.

chose faite encoultre ley & la corone ent fait<sup>5</sup> due remedie pour dieu & en eoure de cha<rite>.

2.

Item les ditz suppliantz se pleignent vers le dite *seignour* Nichol deceo quil oue lassent des autres auant ditz de sa Couygne accrocha sur luy Roial poair deceo quilz conspirerent & ymaginerent pour auoir mys au <mort> p<lu>sours bones gentz de loundres & pour ceo quilz ne purroient faire cele chose sanz ascun cause ils conspirerent de eux enditer ou enpecher par lour fauxe couygne auant dite quare le meire qorest nous certefia en place de record que <a>sc<uns> du dite Citee furrount enditez ascuns enpeches & ascuns appellees de felonie au quel enditement faire le dite ^seignour^ Nichol oue ses acomplys mistrent sur les enquestes de eux enditer ceux que furrent del affinite & assent du di<te seignour> Nichol & queux feurent de male fame come ouertement serra prouez si les enditemens feurent deuant vous. Qe plese a nostre dite seignour le Roy & les seignours auant ditz de ceste horrible matiere ent faire due remedie & char<ger> Nichol Exton' ore meire de loundres de faire venir deuant vous toutz les enditemens oue les ^enditours^ toutz les empechemens oue les empechours queux sont en sa garde ou de sa conisaunce en auant<a>ge du Roy {pur dieu} & en eoure de charite.

3.

Item les ditz suppliantz suppliount que lestatut fait al parlement tenuz a Westm' lan du regne nostre dite seignour le Roy sisme<sup>6</sup> que comence en ceste paroles Item *ordinatum est & statutum quod nec in Ciuitate London' nec in aliis Ciuitatibus Burgis villis vel portibus maris par totum regnum predictum aliquis vitallarius officium Iudiciale decetero habeat excerceat neque ocupet quouis modo nisi in villis vbi alia persona sufficiens ad huius statum habendum reperiri non pot<erit> dum tamen dem<sup>7</sup> Iudex pro tempore quo in officio illo steterit ab excercicio vitallarii sub pena forisfacture victualium suorum sic venditorum penitus cesset & se abstineat pro se & suis omino ab eodem la contrarie de quel estatut est vsee en mesm<e> la Citee. Qe plese a nostre dite seignour le Roy & les seignours auant ditz graunter que le dit estatut soit tenuz sibien en la dite Cite come aillours & meyntenant mys en*

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<sup>5</sup> Possible scribal error for 'faire'.

<sup>6</sup> i.e. 1382-83 (the statute was enacted in 1382).

<sup>7</sup> Possible scribal error for 'idem'.

execucion *pour* les *grauntz* extorciouns *que* est fait de iour en autre & *qe* ne so<it>  
lessez *pour* ascun estatuit ou ordinance fait al encountre de puy en cea.

## Translation

1.

To the most excellent and most powerful lord, our most dread lord the king, and to the most noble and wise lords of this present parliament pray most humbly the poor lieges the Founders of his city of London, and they complain against Nicholas Brembre, knight: that the said Sir Nicholas, with his accomplices who were of his party, accroached to himself royal power in that whereas it has been practised in the said city from time immemorial – and granted and confirmed by their charter of kings – {that} when the mayor of London will be elected he will be elected by the commonalty of the said city, and not by strangers or victuallers, the aforesaid Sir Nicholas and the others, his accomplices, by their conspiracy and false scheming – in order to destroy the good men of various myseries of the said city, against the franchise of the same – summoned certain men who were of their party to the Guildhall of the said city on the feast of Saint Edward the King, in the seventh year of the reign of our lord the present king, in order to elect a mayor. And the said Sir Nicholas, by the agreement of his accomplices, proclaimed in various parts of the said city and charged each man of the said city who were workers – upon the penalty of imprisonment and upon the penatly of all that they could forfeit to the king – that no-one should be so bold as to be at the said election except for those who were summoned, and those who were summoned were summoned by their agreement. And the same day at that election that was made against their franchise, the said Sir Nicholas ordained certain men, foreigners as well as victuallers to a great number, the which were armed at the Guildhall of London in order to make that election and in order to have put to death all other men who were not summoned if they should have come there for the said election. So may it please our said lord the king and the most noble and wise lords in this present parliament of this horrible thing, made against the law and the crown, to thereof make due remedy, for God and as a work of charity.

2.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of the aforesaid others of his covin, accroached to himself royal power in that they conspired and schemed in order to have put to death many good men of



London; and because they could not do that thing without some cause, they conspired to indict or impeach them by their aforesaid false covin; so the present mayor informed us in the place of record that some of the said city were indicted, some impeached and some appealed of felony. To make which indictment, the said Sir Nicholas with his accomplices appointed as officers of the inquests to indict them those who were of the accord and party of the said Sir Nicholas and who were of bad renown – as openly will be proven if the indictments were before you. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords of this horrible matter to thereof make due remedy and to charge Nicholas Exton, now mayor of London, to make come before you all the indictments with the indicters, all the impeachments with the impeachers which are in his keeping or of his knowledge, to the advantage of the king, for God and as a work of charity.

3.

Also the said suppliants pray concerning the statute made at the parliament held at Westminster in the sixth year of the reign of our said lord the king that begins in these words: “Also it is ordained and establshed that neither in the city of London nor in other cities, boroughs, villages or ports of the sea, throughout all the aforesaid kingdom, may any victualler henceforth hold, practice, or occupy judicial office in any way, except in villages where some qualified person to hold this position cannot be found, provided that the same judge, for the time that he remains in that office, utterly ceases from the practice of a victualler upon the penalty of forfeiture of their victuals sold in such a way, and that he abstains, for him and all his, from the same”; the contrary of which statute is practised in the same city. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords to grant that the said statute should be held as well in the said city as elsewhere and forthwith put into execution because of the great extortions that are made from {one} day to another, and that it should not be abandoned because of any statute or ordinance being subsequently made to the contrary in any way.

## 7c) The Drapers' Petition

Language(s): Anglo-Norman, Latin

Source: TNA, SC 8/94/4664

Manuscript: 43.4cm x 28.1 cm [35.5cm x 19cm]. Condition very good; top right-hand corner missing with some damage to the opening of each line of the first paragraph.

References: Previously transcribed and translated in A. H. Johnson, *The History of the Worshipful Company of Drapers of London*, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914-22), I (1914), 208-11

### Text

1.

A tresexcellent & trespuissant *seignour* nostre *seignour* le Roy & as tresnobles & sages *seignours* de cest present parlement.

<Supplien>t humblement ses poueres liges Drapers de sa Citee de loundres & se pleyntont *vers seignour* Nichol Brembre chivaler & sez acomplices & autres de son assent, de ce *que* le dit *seignour* Nichol oue lassent {des autres} <queu>x furent de son assent accrocha *sur* lui Roiale poair de ce *que* encontre *lour* chartre des Roys *graunte* & conferme de *lour* fraunchise de la dite Citee & en mayntenance de sa <...> <so>mondre fist *certeins* gentz *que* furent de son assent al Gyhall du dite Citee en le feste de seint Edward lan le Roy qorest viij<sup>8</sup> pur eslire vn mair. Et le dit *seignour* Nichol *par* {assent des} autres *queux* furent de son assent fist crier en diuerses parties du dite Citee & charger chescun homme du dite Cite *sur* peyne denprisonement & *sur* la peyne quanqils *pourroient* <forfai>re deuers le Roy *que* nul ne *serroit* si hardy destre al dite eleccions fors ceux *que* furent somonez & ceux qi furent somouns furent somouns *par* *lour* assent. Et mesme le iour a cel<e> eleccioun {que} <fui>st fait encontre *lour* fraunchise le dit *seignour* Nichol & les autres de son assent ordeynerent *certeins* gentz sibien foreins come autres a *graunt* nombre les *queux* furent arme<z> al <Gy>hall de loundres *pour* faire cele eleccioun. *Par* qei pleise a nostre dit *seignour* le Roy & lez tresnobles & sages *seignours* en ceste present parlement des ceste horrible chose faite encontre la <co>rone <...> faire due remedy *pour* dieu & en eoure de charitee.

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<sup>8</sup> i.e. 13th of October 1384. The other petitions date this event to 1383, so this seems to be a scribal error.

2.

Item les ditz suppliants se pleynt vers le dit *seignour* Nichol de ceo qil oue lassent des autres ses acomplices accrocha *sur* lui Roiale poair en ceo quil venoit en Chepe oue *grau*<nt> multitude dez gentz armez a *graunt* affray & doute de touz bons gentz du dite Citee. Et *apres* pour malice prist diuerses gentz du dit mistier & eux mis en prisone a grant doute <de> lour vies & perde de lour b<ie>ns sanz repouns ou ley. Issint qil & lez autres de son assent accrocherent *sur* eux Roiale poair encontre la corone nostre dit *seignour* le Roy que pleise a nostre <dit> *seignour* le Roi & lez *seignours* auantditz de ceste chose fait encontre la corone & ley de terre ent faire solonc ce qils ont deserui pour dieu & en eoure de charitee.

3.

Item lez ditz suppliantz se pleynt vers le dit *seignour* Nichol de ceo quil oue lassent des autres auantditz de sa couygne accrocha *sur* lui Roiale poair de ceo quilz conspirerent & ymaginerent pour auoir mis a mort plusours bons gentz de loundres et pour ce qils ne pourroient faire celle chose sanz ascuns cause ils conspirerent d<e> eux enditer de felonie & tresoun & mistrent *sur* lez enquestes de eux enditer ceux qi furent del affinitee & assent le dit *seignour* Nichol & queux furent de male fame come ouertement serra prouez si lez enditementz furent deuant vous. Que pleise a nostre dit *seignour* le Roi & les *seignours* auan<td>itz de ceste horrible matier ent f<ai>re due remedie & charger Nichol Exton ore Meir de loundres de faire venir deuant vous touz lez enditementz oue lez enditours queux s<on>t en sa garde en aua<un>tage du Roy pour dieu & en eoure de charitee.

4.

Item lez ditz suppliants se pley<ne>nt vers le dit *seignour* Nichol & ses acomplices que come estatut fuit fait au parlement tenuz a Westm' lan du regne nostre dit *seignour* le Roi sisme<sup>9</sup> <que> comenc<ez> en cestes paroles Item *ordinatum est & statutum quod neque in Ciuitate London' nec in aliis Ciuitatibus Burgis villis vel portubus maris par totum regnum* {predictum} <a>li<q>uis vitallarius officium Iudiciale decetero habeat exerbeat neque occupet quovismodo in villis vbi alia persona sufficiens ad huius statum habendum reperiri non p<oteri>t dum tamen idem

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<sup>9</sup> i.e. 1382-83 (the statute was enacted in 1382).

Iudex *pro tempore* quo in officio illo steterit ab exercicio vitallarii sub pena  
forisfacture victuallium suorum sic venditorum penitus cesset & se abtineat *pro se*  
& sis omino ab eodem la quel *seignour* Nichol & ses accomplices lestatut auantdit  
ont contrerez a *graunde* damage de touz les *Communes* du dite Citee <que> ple*se*  
a nostre dit *seignour* le Roi & les *seignours* auantditz *graunter que* le dit estatut soit  
tenuz sibien en la dite Citee come aillours & mayntenant mis en execucion  
nien<t> encontre esteant ascun estatut ou ordinance fait en la countre depuis encea.

## Translation

1.

To the most excellent and most powerful lord, our lord the king, and to the most noble and wise lords of this present parliament pray humbly the poor lieges the Drapers of his city of London, and they complain against Sir Nicholas Brembre, knight, and his accomplices and others of his party, thereof: that the said Sir Nicholas, with the assent of others who were of his party, accroached to himself royal power in that he summoned – against their charter of their franchise of the said city granted and confirmed by kings, and in maintenance of <...> – certain men who were of his party to the Guildhall of the said city on the feast of Saint Edward, in the seventh year of the present king, in order to elect a mayor. And the said Sir Nicholas, by the agreement of others who were of his party, proclaimed in various parts of the said city and charged each man of the said city – upon the penalty of imprisonment and upon the penalty of all that they could forfeit to the king – that no-one should be so bold as to be at the said election except for those who were summoned, and those who were summoned were summoned by their agreement. And the same day at that election that was made against their franchise, the said Sir Nicholas and the others of his party ordained certain men, foreigners as well as others to a great number, the which were armed at the Guildhall of London in order to make that election. So may it please our said lord the king and the most noble and wise lords in this present parliament of this horrible thing, made against the crown <...>, to make due remedy, for God and as a work of charity.

2.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of the others his accomplices, accroached to himself royal power in that he came into Cheapside with a great multitude of armed men, to the great fright and fear of all the good men of the said city. And after, for malice, he took various men of the said mystery and put them in prison to the great fear for their lives and loss of their goods, without the judgement of the law. In that way he and the others of his party accroached to themselves royal power against the crown of our said lord the king. So may it please our said lord the King and the aforesaid lords of this thing

made against the crown and the law of the land to thereof act according to that which they have deserved, for God and as a work of charity.

3.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of the aforesaid others of his covenin, accroached to himself royal power in that they conspired and schemed in order to have put to death many good men of London; and because they could not do that thing without some cause, they conspired to indict them of felony & treason, and they appointed as officers of the inquests to indict them those who were of the accord and party {of} the said Sir Nicholas, and who were of bad renown – as openly will be proven if the indictments were before you. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords of this horrible matter to thereof make due remedy and to charge Nicholas Exton, now mayor of London, to make come before you all the indictments, with the indicters, which are in his keeping, to the advantage of the king, for God and as a work of charity.

4.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas and his accomplices that, whereas a statute was made at the parliament held at Westminster in the sixth year of the reign of our said lord the King that begins in these words: “Also it is ordained and established that neither in the city of London nor in other cities, boroughs, villages or ports of the sea, throughout all the aforesaid kingdom, may any victualler henceforth hold, practice, or occupy judicial office in any way, except in villages where some qualified person to hold this position cannot be found, provided that the same judge, for the time that he remains in that office, utterly ceases from the practice of a victualler upon the penalty of forfeiture of their victuals sold in such a way, and that he abstains, for him and all his, from the same”, the which Sir Nicholas and his accomplices have opposed to the great damage of all the commons of the said city. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords to grant that the said statute should be held as well in the said city as elsewhere and forthwith put into execution against any statute or ordinance being subsequently made to the contrary in any way.

## 7d) The Painters' Petition

Language(s): Anglo-Norman, Latin

Source: TNA, SC 8/21/1004

Manuscript: 38cm x 36.6cm [32cm x 32.6 cm]. Condition very good; damage to left-hand margin, with some text lost in bottom left-hand corner.

### Text

1.

A tresexellent & trespuissant *seignour* nostre tresredote *seignour* le Roy & as tresnobles & sagez *seignours* diceste present parlement.

Supplient treshumblement sez poueres liges Peyntours de sa Citee de Loundres & se pleignout vers Nichol Brembre *chiualer* & autres ses accomplices de soun assent de ceo *que* le dite *seignour* Nichol oue les autres *queux* feurent de soun assent accrocha sur luy Roial poair de ceo *que* par la ou ad estez vsee en la dite Citee toutz temps dount nule memoire ne court & par lour chartre des Roys *grauntez* & confermez qaunt le maire de loundres serra esluz y serra esluz par la *communealte* & ffrank gentz du dite Citee, la les auan<t> ditz *seignour* Nichol oue les autres ses accomplices par lour conspiracie & faux ymaginacioun pour destruire bones gentz du dite Citee & encountre la franchise dicell fisrent somondre certains gentz *queux* feurent de lour assent al Gyhall du dite Citee en la ffeite de seynt Edward le Roy lan du regne nostre *seignour* le Roy qorest eoptisme<sup>10</sup> pour eslire vn maire. Et le dite *seignour* Nichol par assent de toutz les autres fist crier en diuerses parties du dite Citee & charger chescun homme de la dite Citee sur peyn demprisonement & sur peyne de quanque quilz purroient forfaire deuers le Roy *que* nul serroit si hardy destre al dite elleccioun fors ceux *que* feurent somouns & ceux *que* feurent somouns feurent somouns par lour assent. Et mesme le iour a cele elleccioun *que* fuist fait encountre lour ffranchise le dite *seignour* Nichol & les autres de soun assent ordineront certeinz gentz si bien foreyns come autres a graunt noumbre les *queux* feurent armez en la Gyhall de loundres pour f<ai>re cele elleccioun & pour auoir mys au mort toutz autres gentz *queux* ne feurent pas somouns sils eussent la venuz pour la dite elleccioun. Parquei plese a nostre dite *seignour* le Roy & les tresnobles <&> sagez *seignours* en ceste present parlement diceste horrible chose fait encountre ley & la corone ent due remedie faire pour dieu & en eoure de charite.

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<sup>10</sup> i.e. 13th of October 1383.

2.

Item les ditz suppliantz se pleignent *vers* le dite *seignour* Nichol deceo *quil* oue lassent des autres sez acomplices accrocha sur luy Roial poair enceo *quil* venoit en chepe oue *graunt* multitude des gentz armez a *graunt* doute & affray des toutz bones gentz du dite Citee & moultz autres gentz de mesme Citee emprisona a *graunt* doute de *lour* vies & perde de *lour* biens sanz response de ley. Issint *quil* & les autres accrocherent sur eux Roial poair encoutre la Corone nostre dite *seignour* le Roy. Qe plese a nostre dite *seignour* & les *seignours* auant ditz de ceste chose fait encoutre la corone & ley de terre ent faire solonc ceo *quils* ount deseruy *pour* dieu & en eoure de charite.

3.

Item les ditz suppliantz se pleignent *vers* le dite *seignour* Nichol de ceo *quil* oue lassent des autres auant ditz de sa couygne accrocha sur luy Roial poair deceo *quils* conspirerent & ymaginerent *pour* auoir mys au mort plusours bones gentz de loundres & *pour* ceo *quils* ne purroient faire cele chose sanz ascun cause ils conspirerent de eux enditer de felonie & tresoun & mistrent sur les enquestes de eux enditer ceux *que* feurent del affinite & assent du dite *seignour* Nichol & *queux* feurent de male fame come ouertement serra prouez si les enditemens f<eu>rent deu<a>nt vous. Qe plese a nostre dite *seignour* le Roy & les *seignours* auant ditz diceste horrible matier ent faire due remedie et charger Nichol Exton ore maire de lo<u>ndres de faire venir deuant vous <t>out<z> les enditementz *queux* sount en sa garde en auauntage du Roy *pour* dieu & en eoure de charite.

4.

Item les auant ditz suppliant<sup>11</sup> se pleignent *vers* le dite *seignour* Nichol deceo *quil* oue lassent des autres auant ditz de sa couygne accrocha sur luy Roial poair de ceo *quils* fisre<nt grau>nt assembles en diuerses lieux de la dite Citee *par* diuerse foitz *par* diuerses gentz de la dite Citee & la conspirerent entre eux coment *quils* purroient meyntener *lour* fauxine *quils* <eussent adeu>ant comencez *pour* destruire ceux *que* pleignent ore & tous autres *queux* feurent enditez *par* *lour* faux ymaginacioun & conspiracie, ffeust ordeigne *par* *lour* commune assent de prendre <de> les auant

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<sup>11</sup> Possible scribal error for 'suppliantz'.



ditz gentz *queux* feurent de *lour* assent a ceste fauxime meyntener *grant* sommes dargent la quel torcenouse prise ad este continue du temps *que* John' Northampton fest oustee de *soun* office & le dite *seignour* Nichol Brembre eslutz par le manere il est dist auant tan*que* en cea & vn*qore* est continue. Qe plese a *nostre* dite *seignour* le Roy & les *seignours* auant ditz *que* ceste faux conspiracie & ymaginacioun soit puniz solonc ceo quil ad deseruy come le ley de terre demaunde pour dieu et en eoure de charite.

5.

Item les ditz suppliantz suppliont *que* lestatut fait al parlement tenuz a Westm' lan du regne *nostre* dite *seignour* le Roy sisme<sup>12</sup> *que* comence en ceste paroles Item *ordinatum* est & *statutum* quod nec in c*ui*tate London' nec in aliis Ciuitatibus Burgis villis vel portibus maris *par* totum regnum *predictum* aliquis vitallarius officium Iudiciale de cetero *habeat* *exerceat* neque ocupet quouismodo nisi *in* vi*llis* vb*ic* alia*person*a sufficiens ad huius statum *habendum* reperiri non poterit dum tamen idem iudex *pro tempore* quo in officio illo steterit ab excercio vitallarii sub pena forisfacture victualium suorum { sic venditorum } <pen>itus cesset & se abstineat *pro* se & suis omino ab eodem la contrarie de quel estatut est vsee en mesme la Citee. Qe plese a *nostre* dite *seignour* le Roy & les *seignours* auant ditz *graunter* *que* le d*ite* { estatut soit tenuz } s*ic* bien en la dite Citee come aillours & meynenant mys en execucioun nient encountre esteant ascun estatuit ou ordinance fait en le coudre de puys en cea.

6.

{ Item monstront } <le>s ditz suppliantz *que* come vn liure appell le Jubilee feust en la chaumbre de la Gyhall de la dite Citee en quel plusours & pour la greyndre partie de tous les bones { articles compiles } *par* longe & aunciene experience tochant le bone gouvernayle de mesme la Citee alobseruance des quel articles les meire, Recordour, audermanz & les bones { communes de mesme } la c*itee* estoient iurrez & soleient estre de temps en temps, mesme ceste liure puy la ffeste de pasque

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<sup>12</sup> i.e. 1382-83 (the statute was enacted in 1383).

darrein passez<sup>13</sup> *par* couygne & ordinance d<a>scuns en temps {du mair qorest est}  
ars a *graunt* damage de la gouernance du dite Citee entemps a venir.

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<sup>13</sup> Easter fell on the 7th of April in 1387. The order to burn the book was made on the 12th March (*CLBH*, p. 303). The entry in *LBH* suggests that the book was burnt the same day (*Memorials*, pp. 494-95), but the petitions suggest it happened the following month.

## Translation

1.

To the most excellent and most powerful lord, our most dread lord the king, and to the most noble and wise lords of this present parliament pray most humbly the poor lieges the Painters of his city of London, and they complain against Nicholas Brembre, knight, and others, his accomplices of his party, thereof: that the said Sir Nicholas, with the others who were of his party, accroached to himself royal power in that whereas it has been practised in the said city from time immemorial – and granted and confirmed by their charter of kings – {that} when the mayor of London will be elected he will be elected by the commonalty and free men of the said city, the aforesaid Sir Nicholas with the others, his accomplices, by their conspiracy and false scheming – in order to destroy the good men of the said city and against the franchise of the same – summoned certain men who were of their party to the Guildhall of the said city on the feast of Saint Edward the King, in the seventh year of the reign of our lord the present king, in order to elect a mayor. And the said Sir Nicholas, by the agreement of all the others, proclaimed in various parts of the said city and charged each man of the said city – upon the penalty of imprisonment and upon the penatly of all that they could forfeit to the king – that no-one should be so bold as to be at the said election except for those who were summoned, and those who were summoned were summoned by their agreement. And the same day at that election that was made against their franchise, the said Sir Nicholas and the others of his party ordained certain men, foreigners as well as others, to a great number, the which were armed in the Guildhall of London in order to make that election and in order to have put to death all other men who were not summoned if they should have come there for the said election. So may it please our said lord the king and the most noble and wise lords in this present parliament of this horrible thing, made against the law and the crown, to thereof make due remedy, for God and as a work of charity.

2.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of the others, his accomplices, accroached to himself royal power in that he came into Cheapside with a great multitude of armed men to the great fear

and fright of all the good men of the said city; and he imprisoned many other men of the same city to the great fear for their lives and loss of their goods, without the judgement of law. In that way he and the others accroached to themselves royal power against the crown of our said lord the king. So may it please our said lord and the aforesaid lords of this thing made against the crown and the law of the land to thereof act according to that which they have deserved, for God and as a work of charity.

3.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of the aforesaid others of his covin, accroached to himself royal power in that they conspired and schemed in order to have put to death many good men of London; and because they could not do that thing without some cause, they conspired to indict them of felony or treason, and they appointed as officers of the inquests to indict them those who were of the accord and party of the said Sir Nicholas, and who were of bad renown – as openly will be proven if the indictments were before you. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords of this horrible matter to thereof make due remedy and to charge Nicholas Exton, now mayor of London, to make come before you all the indictments which are in his keeping, to the advantage of the king, for God and as a work of charity.

4.

Also the aforesaid suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of the aforesaid others of his covin, accroached to himself royal power in that they made large assemblies in various parts of the said city, during various times, of various men of the said city; and there they conspired amongst themselves how they could maintain their falseness that they had before begun in order to destroy those who complain now and all the others who were indicted by their false scheming and conspiracy. It was ordained by their common agreement, in order to maintain this falseness, to take from the aforesaid men who were of their party great sums of money, the which wrongful taking has been continued from the time that John Northampton was removed from his office and the said Sir Nicholas Brembre {was} elected by the manner that is said before until now, and still is continued. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords that this

false conspiracy and scheming should be punished according to that which it has deserved, as the law of the land demands, for God and as a work of charity.

5.

Also the said suppliants pray concerning the statute made at the parliament held at Westminster in the sixth year of the reign of our said lord the king that begins in these words: “Also it is ordained and established that neither in the city of London nor in other cities, boroughs, villages or ports of the sea, throughout all the aforesaid kingdom, may any victualler henceforth hold, practice, or occupy judicial office in any way, except in villages where some qualified person to hold this position cannot be found, provided that the same judge, for the time that he remains in that office, utterly ceases from the practice of a victualler upon the penalty of forfeiture of their victuals sold in such a way, and that he abstains, for him and all his, from the same”; the contrary of which statute is practised in the same city. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords to grant that the said statute should be held as well in the said city as elsewhere and forthwith put into execution against any statute or ordinance being subsequently made to the contrary in any way.

6.

Also the said suppliants show how a book called the Jubilee was made in the chamber of the Guildhall of the said city, in which {were} many – and for the greater part of all – the good articles compiled by long and ancient experience, touching the good governance of the same city, to the observance of which articles the mayor, recorder, aldermen and the good commons of the same city were sworn and were accustomed to be {sworn} from time to time. The same book, after the feast of Easter last passed, by covin and ordinance of some, in the time of the present mayor, is burnt to the great damage of the governance of the city in times to come.

## 7e) The Armourers' Petition

Language(s): Anglo-Norman, Latin

Source: TNA, SC 8/21/1005)

Manuscript: 44.1cm x 33.8cm [38.1cm x 27.1cm] Condition very good. Top left-hand corner lost with some damage to text. Right-hand margin blackened and creased obscuring some of the text.

### Text

1.

A nostre tresexcellent & trespuissant *seignour* le Roy & as tresnobles & s<a>gez  
*seignours* de ceste present parlement.

Supplient treshumblement ses poueres ligez Armurers de sa Citee de loundres & se  
pleignent vers Nichol Brembre chivaler & autres sez accomplices de son assent  
Deceo *que* le dite *seignour* Nichol ou lass<ent> de sez accomplices accroch<a> {sur  
luy} <roia>l poair Deceo *que* par la ou ad estez vsez en la dite Citee de loundres tout  
temps dount nul memoire ne court & par lour chartre du Roys grauntez &  
confermez qaunt le meire de loundres serra <es>luz y serra es<lu>z {par le}  
*communealte* & frank gentz du dite Citee la les auant ditz *seignour* Nichol & ses  
accomplices par lour conspiracie & faux ymaginacioun pour destruire touz eouerours  
du dite Citee <&> en<coun>tre la ffranchise dicell fisrent somondre {certein gentz}  
*queux* furent de lour assent a la Gyhall du dite Citee en la ffeite de seynt Edward le  
Roy lan du regne nostre *seignour* le Roy qorest oeptisme<sup>14</sup> pour eslire vne meire. Et  
le dite *seignour* Nichol par assent de les autres fist cri<er> en diuers<es> parties du  
dite Citee & charger chescun homme de la dite Citee sur peyne demprisonement &  
sur le peyne de *quanque* quils purront forfaire deuers le Roy *que* nul ne serroit si  
hardy destre al dite elleccioun fors ceux *que* furont <somou>ns ceux *que* furent  
somouns feurent somouns par lour assent. Et mesme le iour a cele elleccioun *que*  
fuist fait encountre lour franchise les dite *seignour* Nichol & les autres de soun  
assent ordeineront certains gentz sibien foreyns <com>e autres <a> grant nombre  
les *queux* feurent armes ala Gyhall de loundres pour faire cele eleccioun & pour  
auoir mys au mort toutz autres gentz *queux* ne feurent pas somouns sils eussent la  
venuz pour la dite eleccion. Parquei plese a nostre di<te seignour> le Roy & les

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<sup>14</sup> i.e. 13th of October 1383.

tresnobles & sagez *seignours* en ceste present parlement de ceste horrible chose fait  
encountre ley & corone ent faire due remedie *pour* dieu & en eoure de charite.

2.

Item les ditz suppliantz se pleignent *vers* le dite *seignour* Nichol deceo quil oue  
lassent des autres ses accomplices accrocha sur luy Roial poair enceo *que* venoit en  
chepe <...><sup>15</sup> oue *graunt* multitude des gentz armez auxi <b>ien fore<y>ns {come}  
autres a *graunt* doute des bonez gentz du dite Citee & a *graunt* affray. Et apres *pour*  
malice prist certains gentz du dite mestier & les emprisona greuousement a *graunt*  
doute de *leur* vies & perde de *leur* bienz sanz re<sp>onse {de ley}. Issint quil &  
les autres accrocherent sur eux Roial poair encountre la corone *nostre* dite *seignour*  
le Roy. Qe plese a *nostre* dite *seignour* le Roy & les *seignours* auant ditz diceste  
chose faite encountre la corone & ley de la terre ent faire solo<nc> {ceo quils} ount  
deseruy *pour* dieu & en eoure de charite.

3.

Item les ditz suppliantz se pleignent *vers* le dite Nichol deceo quil oue lassent des  
autres auant ditz de sa Couygne accrocha sur luy Roial poair deceo quils  
conspirerent & ymaginerent *pour* auoir mys a mort plus<ours> {bones} gentz de  
loundres & *pour* ceo quils ne purroient faire cele chose sanz ascun cause ils  
conspirerent de eux enditer de felonye & mistrent sur les enquestes de eux enditer  
ceux *que* furent del aff<ini>te du dit {seignour Nichol} & assent<sup>16</sup> & *queux* furent de  
male fame come ouertement *serra* proues si les enditementz feurent deuant *vous*. Qe  
plese a *nostre* dite *seignour* le Roy & les *seignours* auant ditz de ceste horrible  
matier ent faire due remed<ie> & ch<arger> Nichol Exton ore meire de loundres de  
faire venir deuant *vous* toutz les enditemens *queux* sount en sa garde en auauntage de  
Roy *pour* dieu & en eoure de charite.

4.

Item les ditz suppliantz se pleignent *vers* le dite *seignour* Nichol deceo quil oue  
lassent de les autres auant ditz de sa Couygne accrocha sur luy Roial poair deceo  
quils fisrent *grauntz* assembles en diuerses lieux de la {dite Citee} *par* diuerses foitz

<sup>15</sup> One word is erased in the manuscript.

<sup>16</sup> Possible scribal error for 'affinite & assent du dit seignour Nichol'.

des diuerses gentz de la dite citee & la conspirerent entre eux coment quils purroient meyntener lour fauxime quils eussent adeuant comensez pour destruire ceux que pleignout ore & tous autres queux feurent en<ditez> par lour fauxe ymaginacioun & conspiracie ffeust ordeignez par lour commune assent de prendre de les auant ditz gentz queux feurent de lour assent a ceste fauxime meyntener grauntz sommes dargent; la quel tor<c>enouse p<r>ise ad {estee} continue du temps que John' Northampton fuist oustee de soun office & le dite seignour Nichol esluz par le manere il est dist auant tanque en cea & vnqore est continue. Qe plese a nostre dite seignour le Roy & les seignours auant d<itz> que ceste <co>spiracie & ymaginacioun soit puniz solonc ceo quil ad deseruy come le ley de terre demaunde pour dieu & en eoure de charite.

5.

Item les ditz suppliantz suppliount que lestatut fait al parlement tenuz a Westm' lan du regne nostre dite seignour le Roy sisme<sup>17</sup> que comence en ces<te>s paroles Item ordinatum est & statutum quod nec in Ciuitate London' nec <in al>iis {Ciuitatibus} Burgis villis vel portibus maris par totum regnum predictum aliquis vitallarius officium Iudiciale de c<e>tero habeat excerceat neque ocupet quouismodo nisi in villis vbi alia persona sufficiens ad huius statum habendum reperiri no<n> {poterit} d<um> {tamen} idem Iudex pro tempore quo in officio illo steterit ab excercicio vitallarius sub pena forisfacture victuallium suorum sic venditorum penitus cesset & se absterneat pro se & suis o<mino> ab eodem la contrarie de quel estatut e<st> vs<ee> {en mesme} la Citee. Qe plese a nostre dite seignour le Roy & les seignours auant ditz graunter que le dite estatut soit tenuz sibien en la dite Citee come aillours & meynenant mys en execucioun nie<nt en>cou<nt>re esteant ascun estat<ut> {ou ordinance} fait a lencountre de puy en cea.

6.

I<tem> monstront les ditz suppliantz que come vn liure appelle le Iubilee fuist en la chambre de la Gyhall de la dite Citee en quel plusours & pour la greyndre partie des toutz les bones articles compiles par long & bone <...> les sages du dite Citee tochant la bone gouernaile de mesme ^citee^ & profit de les communes alobservance

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<sup>17</sup> i.e. 1382-83 (the statute was enacted in 1383).



des quel articles les maire, Recordour, Audermanz & les bones *communes* de mesme la Citee estoient iurrez & soleient {estre de temps en temps} mesme ceste liure puy le ffeste de *pasque* darrein passez<sup>18</sup> *par* couygne & ordinance dascuns en temps du maire qorest est ars a *graunt* damage de la *gouernance* de mesme la Cite en temps a venir.

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<sup>18</sup> Easter fell on the 7th of April in 1387. The order to burn the book was made on the 12th March (*CLBH*, p. 303). The entry in *LBH* suggests that the book was burnt the same day (*Memorials*, pp. 494-95), but the petitions suggest it happened the following month.

## Translation

1.

To our most excellent and most powerful lord the king, and to the most noble and wise lords of this present parliament pray most humbly the poor lieges the Armourers of his city of London, and they complain against Nicholas Brembre, knight, and others, his accomplices of his party, thereof: that the said Sir Nicholas, with the agreement of his accomplices, accroached to himself royal power in that whereas it has been practised in the said city of London from time immemorial – and granted and confirmed by their charter of kings – {that} when the mayor of London will be elected he will be elected by the commonalty and free men of the said city, the aforesaid Sir Nicholas with his accomplices, by their conspiracy and false scheming – in order to destroy all the workers of the said city and against the franchise of the same – summoned certain men who were of their party to the Guildhall of the said city on the feast of Saint Edward the King, in the seventh year of the reign of our lord the present king, in order to elect a mayor. And the said Sir Nicholas, by the agreement of the others, proclaimed in various parts of the said city and charged each man of the said city – upon the penalty of imprisonment and upon the penalty of all that they could forfeit to the king – that no-one should be so bold as to be at the said election except for those who were summoned; those who were summoned were summoned by their agreement. And the same day at that election that was made against their franchise, the said Sir Nicholas and the others of his party ordained certain men, foreigners as well as others, to a great number, the which were armed at the Guildhall of London in order to make that election and in order to have put to death all other men who were not summoned if they should have come there for the said election. So may it please our said lord the king and the most noble and wise lords in this present parliament of this horrible thing, made against the law and the crown, to thereof make due remedy, for God and as a work of charity.

2.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of the others, his accomplices, accroached to himself royal power in that he came into Cheapside with a great multitude of armed men, foreigners as well as others, to the great fear of all the good men of the said city, and the great fright.

And after, for malice, he took certain men of the said mystery and grievously imprisoned them to the great fear for their lives and loss of their goods, without the judgement of law. In that way he and the others accroached to themselves royal power against the crown of our said lord the king. So may it please our said lord and the aforesaid lords of this thing made against the crown and the law of the land to thereof act according to that which they have deserved, for God and as a work of charity.

3.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of the aforesaid others of his covin, accroached to himself royal power in that they conspired and schemed in order to have put to death many good men of London; and because they could not do that thing without some cause, they conspired to indict them of felony, and they appointed as officers of the inquests to indict them those who were of the accord and party of the said Sir Nicholas, and who were of bad renown – as openly will be proven if the indictments were before you. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords of this horrible matter to thereof make due remedy and to charge Nicholas Exton, now mayor of London, to make come before you all the indictments which are in his keeping, to the advantage of the king, for God and as a work of charity.

4.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of the aforesaid others of his covin, accroached to himself royal power in that they made large assemblies in various parts of the said city, during various times, of various men of the said city; and there they conspired amongst themselves how they could maintain their falseness that they had before begun in order to destroy those who complain now and all the others who were indicted by their false scheming and conspiracy. It was ordained by their common agreement, in order to maintain this falseness, to take from the aforesaid men who were of their party great sums of money, the which wrongful taking has been continued from the time that John Northampton was removed from his office and the said Sir Nicholas Brembre {was} elected by the manner that is said before, until now, and still is continued. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords that this conspiracy and

scheming should be punished according to that which it has deserved, as the law of the land demands, for God and as a work of charity.

5.

Also the said suppliants pray concerning the statute made at the parliament held at Westminster in the sixth year of the reign of our said lord the king that begins in these words: “Also it is ordained and established that neither in the city of London nor in other cities, boroughs, villages or ports of the sea, throughout all the aforesaid kingdom, may any victualler henceforth hold, practice, or occupy judicial office in any way, except in villages where some qualified person to hold this position cannot be found, provided that the same judge, for the time that he remains in that office, utterly ceases from the practice of a victualler upon the penalty of forfeiture of their victuals sold in such a way, and that he abstains, for him and all his, from the same”; the contrary of which statute is practised in the same city. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords to grant that the said statute should be held as well in the said city as elsewhere and forthwith put into execution against any statute or ordinance being subsequently made to the contrary in any way.

6.

Also the said suppliants show how a book called the Jubilee was in the chamber of the Guildhall of the said city, in which {were} many – and for the greater part of all – the good articles compiled by long and good <...> the wise of the said city, touching the good governance of the same city and profit of the commons, to the observance of which articles the mayor, recorder, aldermen and the good commons of the same city were sworn and were accustomed to be {sworn} from time to time. The same book, after the feast of Easter last passed, by covin and ordinance of some, in the time of the present mayor, is burnt to the great damage of the governance of the city in times to come.

## 7f) The <...>steres' Petition

Language(s): Anglo-Norman, Latin

Source: TNA, SC 8/199/9925

Manuscript: Condition very poor. A substantial proportion of this petition is now lost: the bottom sections are entirely missing, as is a substantial amount from both the left and right margins. The text that has survived contains blemishes and substantial fading throughout.

Note to appendix: The loss of the opening of the petition means we are unable to discern the guild's name: all we know is that it ends 'steres'. The identity of this guild is unclear, and identifying the guild is problematised by the frequency with which guild professions end in '-steres'. For example, the guild in question could be, amongst other possibilities, the <pater>nosteres,<sup>19</sup> the <uphol>steres,<sup>20</sup> the <arbale>esteres,<sup>21</sup> or the <tape>steres.<sup>22</sup> None of these appear to be obvious candidates, and as such I continue to refer to this petition as by the <...>steres.

### Text

1.

{A tresexellent & trespuissant} *seignour nostre tresredote* {seignour le} Roi & as tresnobles & sages *seignours* de ceste present parlement.

{Suppliant treshumblement ses poveres liges} <...>steres de sa cite de loundres & se pleignent *vers* Nichol Brembre chivaler & les a<com>plices queux f<eur>ent de soun assent d<e c>eo *que* le {dite seignour Nichol oue les autres queux feurent de son assent accroacha sur luy roial power deceo *que* par la ou ad} estee vsee en la dite citee tout temps dount nule memoire ne court & *par* les chartre de roy {grauntez} &

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<sup>19</sup> Paternosters made paternosters or rosaries. The typical spelling is 'paternoster'; see, for example, *Memorials*, p. 20. However, the form *paternoster* is recorded in the name 'Andrew Paternoster' (*CLBB*, p. 4), and in the description of 'Geoffrey Bonere' as a 'paternoster' (*CLBG*, p. 114). The paternosters' guild had no particular political potency; in the 1380s, they only ever had one representative on the Common Council (Bird, *Turbulent London*, pp. 123-30).

<sup>20</sup> 'Upholster' is an alternative spelling of 'upholsterers' (See *CLBL*, p. 247). There is a reference to 'les Upholsters' of London as late as 1605. See *Middlesex County Records: Volume 2 – 1602-52*, ed. by John Cordy Jeaffreson (1887), available electronically at <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=65981>>, [Last accessed: 15 January 2012]. The upholsterers never appear among the list of guilds elected to the Common Council.

<sup>21</sup> For the name, see *CLBB*, p. 10; *Memorials*, p. 574. This appears to be a fairly obscure guild, and seems like an unlikely possibility.

<sup>22</sup> The *MED* defines 'tapistere (n.)' as a 'maker or seller of tapestries, tapestry weaver'. The *MED* notes the word derives from *tapicer*, which is the common term used to describe tapestry-weavers in the civic records. This guild is a particular plausible candidate for producing the petition, as the tapicers were a politically-dominant guild. They had 16 representatives on the common councils held between 1381-87 (Bird, *Turbulent London*, pp. 124-30). They thus were on a political par with the Painters (11 representatives) and the Armourers (13 representatives), the two guilds who produce petitions of a similar length. However, I have been unable to find extensive examples of the use of the spelling 'tapisteres' or 'tapesteres' (made problematic by its overlap with 'tappester(e (n.))', 'one who sells ale', *MED*), and without such proof I am unwilling to definitively assign this petition to them, even though they are the most likely candidate.

confermez quant le maire de lo<ndres> {serra esluz y serra esluz par la communealte & ffrank gentz du dite citee la les avant ditz seignour} Nichol & les autres s<es ac>complices *par lour* conspiracie & faux ymaginacioun *pour* <de>struire bones gents de dite citee {& encountre la franchise dicell fisrent somoundre certains gentz queux feurent de lour assent al Gyhall du} <dit>e citee <en> le ffeste {de seynt Edward} le Roi lan du regne nostre *seignour* le Roi <eop>tisme<sup>23</sup> *pour* eslire <un> maire. Et le dite *seignour* Nichol par assent de tous le<s> {autres fist crier en diuerses parties du dite citee & charger chescun homme de la dite citee sur} peyne demprisonment & sur la peyne <de> *quunque* <quils pour>roient <for>faire <de>uers le Roy que nul serroit si har<dy> destre <al dite> ellection {fors ceux que feurent somouns & ceux que feurent somouns feurent somouns par lour assent. Et mesme le iour a cele ellection que fuist fait} <enc>ountre *lour* ffraunchise le dite *seignour* Nic<hol &> les autres de son assent ordi<ner>ent certains ge<nts> {sibien foreyns come autres a graunt noubre les queuz feurent armez en la Gyhall} de loundres *pour* faire cele ellect<ion> {& pour auoir mys au mort toutz autres gentz queux ne feurent pas somouns sils eussent la} venuz *pour* le dit ellection *par* {quei plese a nostre dite seignour le Roy & les tresnobles & sagez seignours en ceste present parlement} dicest horrible chose fait encontre ley {& la corone} ent due {remedie faire pour dieu & en eoure de charite}.

2.

{Item les ditz suppliantz se pleignent vers le dite seignour} <Nic>hol de ceo quil oue lassent des autres sez acomplices accrocha sur <lui roial> poair en ceo quil venoit en chepe oue *grant* multitude des <...> dite mistier a *grant* doute de *lour* vies & perde de *lour* bienz sa<nz respon>se en loy issint quil & les autres accrocheront sur eux roial poair {encountre la corone nostre dite seignour le Roy. Qe plese a nostre dite seignour & les seignours auant dite de} <ces>te chose fait encountre la corone & ley de la *terre* ent fai<re selon> ceo quils ount deser<vy> *pour* dieu & en eoure de charite.

3.

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<sup>23</sup> i.e. 13th of October 1383.

{ Item les ditz supplians se pleignent vers le dite seignour Nichol de ceo quil oue }  
 <l>assent de les autres auant <dite> de sa co<uy>gne <acc>rocha sur luy roial poir  
 deceo quilz <cons>pir<erent & ym>aginerent { pour auoir mys au mort plusours  
 bones gentz de loundres & pour ceo quilz ne pourroient faire cele chose sanz aucun  
 cause ils } conspirerent de eux de enditer f<e>lonie & treson & mistrent sur les  
 { enquestes de eux enditer ceux que } feurent { del affinite & assent du dite seignour  
 Nichol & queux feurent de male fame come ouertement serra prouez si les }  
 <endi>temens feurent deuant vous. *Que* plese a n<ostre> dite *seignour* le roi { & les  
 seignours auant ditz diceste horrible matier ent faire due remedie & charger Nichol  
 Exton ore mair de loundres de faire venir deuant vous toutz les enditementz queux }  
 sont en sa garde en auan<ta>ge du <roy> *pour* dieu & en eoure de charite.

4.

<...> accrocha sur luy <...>.

## Translation

1.

To our most excellent and most powerful lord, our most dread lord the King, and to the most noble and wise lords of this present parliament pray most humbly the poor lieges the <...>steres of his city of London, and they complain against Nicholas Brembre, knight, and his accomplices who were of his party, thereof: that the said Sir Nicholas, with the others who were of his party, accroached to himself royal power in that whereas it has been practised in the said city from time immemorial – and granted and confirmed by their charter of the king – {that} when the mayor of London will be elected he will be elected by the commonalty and free men of the said city, the aforesaid Sir Nicholas and the others, his accomplices, by their conspiracy and false scheming – in order to destroy the good men of the said city and against the franchise of the same – summoned certain men who were of their party to the Guildhall of the said city on the feast of Saint Edward the King, in the seventh year of the reign of our lord the King, in order to elect a mayor. And the said Sir Nicholas, by the agreement of all the others, proclaimed in various parts of the said city and charged each man of the said city – upon the penalty of imprisonment and upon the penatly of all that they could forfeit to the king – that no-one should be so bold as to be at the said election except for those who were summoned and those who were summoned were summoned by their agreement. And the same day at that election that was made against their franchise, the said Sir Nicholas and the others of his party ordained certain men, foreigners as well as others, to a great number, the which were armed in the Guildhall of London in order to make that election and in order to have put to death all other men who were not summoned if they should have come there for the said election. So may it please our said lord the king and the most noble and wise lords in this present parliament of this horrible thing, made against the law and the crown, to thereof make due remedy, for God and as a work of charity.

2.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of the others, his accomplices, accroached to himself royal power in that he came into Cheapside with a great multitude of <...> said mystery to the great



fear for their lives and loss of their goods, without the recourse to law. In that way he and the others accroached to themselves royal power against the crown of our said lord the king. So may it please our said lord and the aforesaid lords of this thing made against the crown and the law of the land to thereof act according to that which they have deserved, for God and as a work of charity.

3.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of the aforesaid others of his covin, accroached to himself royal power in that they conspired and schemed in order to have put to death many good men of London; and because they could not do that thing without some cause, they conspired to indict them of felony, and they appointed as officers of the inquests to indict them those who were of the accord and party of the said Sir Nicholas, and who were of bad renown – as openly will be proven if the indictments were before you. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords of this horrible matter to thereof make due remedy and to charge Nicholas Exton, now mayor of London, to make come before you all the indictments which are in his keeping, to the advantage of the king, for God and as a work of charity.

4.

<...> accroached to himself<...>

## 7g) The Goldsmiths' Petition

Language(s): Anglo-Norman, Latin

Source: TNA, SC 8/198/9882

Manuscript: 38.8cm x 31.2cm [35.6cm x 28.3 cm]. Condition poor; damage to left margin; substantial fading and blemishes throughout.

### Text

1.

A tresexcellent & trespuissant seignour *nostre tresdoute* seignour le Roy & as  
*tresnobles & tressages seignours* diceste *present parlement*.

{Suppliant} <tre>shumblement ses pouerez liges les Orfeuers de sa Citee de londres  
& <se> pleignent *vers Nicholl Brembre Chiualer* *que* come le dit *monseignour*  
Nicholl en sa mairaltee lan du <re>gne *nostre dite* {seignour le roy primer<sup>24</sup>  
demaunda as wardeins} du dite mistier *pour* la chartre a eux *par* les nobles  
*progenitours nostre* di<te> seignour le Roy *graunteez & confermeez*, en quele  
chartre feust {grauntez} <diu>erses choses come pleinement piert *par* la {copie  
annexe diceste a quel temps les} <war>deins du dit mistier {respondirent au} <d>it  
*monseignour Nicholl* quils ne voloient lour d<ite> chartre <a> lui deliuerer sanz  
comandement du {Roy ou de} p<ar>lement & <le> quel {Nichol mava saunt eux  
hidousement} <qu>il voleit luy desmettre de son <espei>e & fa<ire leu>er tout la  
dite Citee sur la dit mistier a *graunt doute* de lour vies et <...> *que* les <...>  
deliuerent a luy lo<ur> chartre la quele {il ad} dete<ine>z & vnq<o>re detient en  
*preiudice* de la Corone *nostre* dit seign<our> le <R>oi> {et a *graunt damage &*  
*vilenye*} du dit mestier <...> *ceo que* la loy demande p<our di>eu {et en eoure de  
charite}.

2.

{Item les ditz suppliants} se pleignent *vers* le dit *monseignour Nicholl* & autres ses  
acom<pl>ices <de> son assent de *ceo que* le dit *monseignour Nichol* <oue> lassent  
{de les autres queux} feurent de son assent accrocha sur luy roial poair <de> c<eo>  
*que par* la ou {ad} <e>stees vs<ee en> la dite Citee tout temps dount nul memoir ne  
court & *par* lo<ur> chartre des Roys *graunteez & <con>fermeez* quant le mair {de  
londres serra eslutz y} serra {eslutz} *par* la *communelte* du dite Citee la les auantditz

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<sup>24</sup> i.e. 1377-78.

{seignour Nichol and les autres} ses accomplices *par* lour conspiracie & faux ymagina<cion> *pour* destruire bones gentz du dite Citee & <encon>tre la fran<chise> {dicell fisrent somondre certains} gentz queux furent de lour assent a la Gyhall {de la dite citee en la} ffeste de seint Edward le Roy lan du regne *nostre* seignour <le> R<o>y qorest se<pt>isme<sup>25</sup> pur esliure <vn> mair {Et le} dite {seignour Nichol} *par* asse<nt> {de toutz les} autres fist criez en diuerses *par*<t>ies du {dite citee} & charger chescuns home de la dite Citee sur peyne demprisonement & su<r> la p<eyne> {de quanque} *quils* <pour>roint for<faire> deuers {le Roy que nul ne serroit si hardy destre al dite ellection} fors ceux *que* feurent s<u>mons et {ceux que feurent somouns} feurent somouns *par* lour assent et mesme le iour a celle election {que fuist fait} encont<re lour> franchise le {dite seignour Nichol & les autres de son assent} <ordeign>erent certainz gentz sibien f<orey>ns come {autres a graunt noumbre} les queux furent armez a la Gyhall de londres pur faire celle elec<tion &> pur auoir {mys} au mort touz {autres gentz queux ne furent pas somouns} sils eussent la {venuz} pur la dite electioun {par que please a nostre dite seignour} le Roy & les tresnobles & sages *seignours* en ceste present parlement de ceste horrible chose fait encontre ley & {la corone ent faire due remedie pour dieu & en} eoure de charite.

3.

{Item les ditz suppliants} se pleignent *vers* le dit monseignour Nicholl de ceo *quil* oue lassent des autres ses accomplices <ac>crocha sur l<uy> {roial poair enceo *quil* venoit en Chepe oue} <graun>t mul<titude d>es {gentz armez a} *graunt do<ute>* d<e> {tous les} bones {gentz du} dite Citee et apres myst Richard Merdon & R<...> <...>dernesse Or<feue>re en prison & feurent <...> quel <...> <Nic>holl *pour* punisser <...> Citee horriblement *par* quel emprisonmen<t> <...> sont mort <...> poair encontre la corone <...> dite *seignour* le R<oy> <...> auantditz <...> ent faire {solonc} ceo *quils* dese<rvy> {pour dieu & en eoure de} <char>itee.

4.

{Item les ditz suppliants se pleignent vers le dit seignour Nichol} d<e>ceo *quil* {oue lassent des autres ses complices de} sa couygne {accrocha} s<ur> luy <ro>ial

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<sup>25</sup> i.e. 13th of October 1383.

po<air> {deceo} quils {conspirerent &} <y>maginerent pur auoir m<ys> {a mort plusours bones gentz de la} <ci>tee de lond<re>s <&> pour {ceo quils} ne p<urroient faire ce>le chose san<z> ascuns cause ils conspirerent de eux en<di>ter de {felonie &} <mist>rent {sur les enquestes de eux} endit<er ceu>x *que* feu<re>nt del affinite & assent {du dite *seignour*} <Nic>ho<l> {& queux feurent de male fame} come ouertement *serra* proue si les enditements feurent deuant {vous} Q<ue> p<lese> {a *nostre* dit *seignour* le Roi & les seignours} aua<ntdit> {diceste horrible matier} ent faire {due remedie & charger Nichol Exton ore maire de} londres de faire venuz deuant vous tous enditements queux {sount en sa garde} <e>n aua<ntage> {du Roy, pour dieu et en eoure de charitee}.

5.

{Item les ditz suppliants se pleignent vers le dit seignour} <Nic>holl {deceo} <qu>il oue <l>assent d<e>s autres auantditz {de sa} <couy>gne <accroc>ha sur {luy roial} poair <de>ceo quils fisrent {grant} <a>semble<ees> {en diuerse lieux} de la dite cit<e>e *par* diuerses {foitz par diuerses gentz de la dite citee & la conspirerent entre eux coment ils} <pu>rroient maintenir leur fau<xi>me quils eussent {a} <deua>nt {comencez pour destruire} ceux *que* pl<eign>ont {ore & tous autres} <queu>x fe<uren>t {enditez par leur ymaginacion & conspiracie ffeust ordeyne par leur commune} assent de prendre de les {auant ditz gentz} queux f<eurent> d<e> {leur assent a} ce<st>e fauxime {maintener grant sums} <darge>nt la q<uel> {torcenouse prise ad estee continue du temps} *que* Jo<hn> Norham<pton> {feust oustee de son} office et le dit monseignour Brembre {eslutz} *par* la manere il est dit <aua>nt {tanque en} cea & vnqore est <con>tinue {Que} plese a {nostre dit seignour le Roy & les seignours auant ditz que ceste faux} cons<piracie> & ymagination s<oi>t {puniz} solonc ceo *quil* ad deservy come la ley de la *terre* demande, pu<r di>eu & en {eoure de} charitee.

6.

{Item les ditz suppliantz suppliont que lestatut fait al parlement tenuz} a Westminster lan du reg<ne> {nostre dite} seignour le Roy <s>isme<sup>26</sup> *que* comence en {cestes} pa<roles> {Item ordinatum est & statum} *quod* nec in ciuit<ate>

<sup>26</sup> i.e. 1382-83 (the statute was enacted in 1382).

Lon<don> { nec in alys ciuitatibus Burgis villis vel portibus maris } par t<otum> regnum predictum aliquis vitallarius officium iudiciale decetero habeat excerceat neque ocupet quouis<m>odo { nisi in } villis { vbi alia persona sufficiens } ad huius statum habend<um> <re>periri non poterit { dum tamen } idem iudex pro tempore quo in officio illo steterit <a>b exce<rcicio> vitallarii sub pena forisfacture victu<a>l<ium> { suorum sic venditorum penitus } cesset & se abstineat pro se & suis <om>ino ab eodem la cont<rari>e de q<uel> { estatut est } vsee en mesme le dit cite. Que plese a nostre dite seignour le Roy & les seignours auant { dit } granter que le dit estatut soit tenuz sib<ien> en la dite citee { come } aillours et <meyntena>nt mys en exe<cucion> nient contre <...> { ascun } estatu ou ordinance faite { en le countre de puy en cea }.

7.

<I>tem monstrent les ditz suppliants que come vn liure appelle le <Jubilee> feust en la chaumbre la Gyhall de la dite citee en qu<e>l <plu>sours { & } pour la greindre partie des tous les bones articles compiles par <lon>g<e> & aun<ci>ene <e>xperience tochant la bone gouernaille de mesme la citee alobseruance des quels articles les mair { recordour } audermans & les bones { communs } de mesme la citee esoient iurrez & soleient estre de temps { en temps } mesme { ceste } liure { puis } le fe<ste> de pasque darrein pa<ss>e<z><sup>27</sup> par couygne & or<dinance> dascuns en temps { du mair } qorest est ar<s> a graunt { damage } de la { gouernance } en mesme la citee entemps { a venir }.

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<sup>27</sup> Easter fell on the 7th of April in 1387.

## Translation

1.

To the most excellent and most powerful lord, our most dread lord the king, and to the most noble and most wise lords of this present parliament pray most humbly the poor lieges the Goldsmiths of the city of London, and they complaint against Nicholas Brembre, knight, how the said Sir Nicholas, in his mayoralty in the first year of the reign of our said lord the king, demanded the wardens of the said mystery for the charter granted to them and confirmed by the noble forebears of our said lord the king, in which charter various items were granted, as plainly appears by the copy attached to this. At which time, the wardens of the said mystery answered the said Sir Nicholas that they would not deliver their said charter to him without the commandment of the king or of parliament. The which Nicholas threatened them horribly that he would drive them out by his sword and make all the said city to rise upon the said mystery, to the great fear for their lives and <...> delivered to him their charter, which he has withheld and still withholds to the detriment of the crown of our said lord the king and the great damage and harm of the said mystery <...> that which the law demands, for God and as a work of charity.

2.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas and others his accomplices of his party thereof: that the said Sir Nicholas, with the agreement of the aforesaid others of his party, accroached to himself royal power in that whereas it has been practised in the said city from time immemorial – and granted and confirmed by their charter of kings – {that} when the mayor of London will be elected he will be elected by the commonalty of the said city, the aforesaid Sir Nicholas and the others, his accomplices, by their conspiracy and false scheming – in order to destroy the good men of the said city and against the franchise of the same – summoned certain men who were of their party to the Guildhall of the said city on the feast of Saint Edward the King, in the seventh year of the reign of our lord the present king, in order to elect a mayor. And the said Sir Nicholas, by the agreement of all the others, proclaimed in various parts of the said city and charged each man of the said city – upon the penalty of imprisonment and upon the penalty of all that they could forfeit to the King – that no-one should be so bold as to be at the said election

except for those who were summoned, and those who were summoned were summoned by their agreement. And the same day at that election that was made against their franchise, the said Sir Nicholas and the others of his party ordained certain men, foreigners as well as others, to a great number, the which were armed at the Guildhall of London in order to make that election and in order to have put to death all other men who were not summoned if they should have come there for the said election. So may it please our said lord the king and the most noble and wise lords in this present parliament of this horrible thing, made against the law and the crown, to thereof make due remedy, for God and as a work of charity.

3.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of the others, his accomplices, accroached to himself royal power in that he came into Cheapside with a great multitude of armed men to the great fear of all the good men of the said city; and after he put Richard Merdon and R<...> <...> derness, Goldsmith, in prison, and they were <...> Nicholas in order to punish <...> city horribly; through which imprisonment <...> are dead <...> power, against the crown <...> said lord the King <...> aforesaid <...> to thereof act according to that which they deserve, for God and as a work of charity.

4.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of the others, his accomplices of his covenin, accroached to himself royal power in that they conspired and schemed in order to have put to death many good men of the city of London; and because they could not do that thing without some cause, they conspired to indict them of felony, and they appointed as officers of the inquests to indict them those who were of the accord and party of the said Sir Nicholas, and who were of bad renown – as openly will be proven if the indictments were before you. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords of this horrible matter to thereof make due remedy and to charge Nicholas Exton, now mayor of London, to make come before you all the indictments which are in his keeping, to the advantage of the king, for God and as a work of charity.

5.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of the aforesaid others of his covin, accroached to himself royal power in that they made large assemblies in various parts of the said city, during various times, of various men of the said city; and there they conspired amongst themselves how they could maintain their falseness that they had before begun in order to destroy those who complain now and all the others who were indicted by their false scheming and conspiracy. It was ordained by their common agreement, to maintain this falseness, to take from the aforesaid men who were of their party great sums of money, the which wrongful taking has been continued from the time that John Northampton was removed from his office and the said Sir Brembre {was} elected by the manner that is said before until now, and still is continued. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords that this false conspiracy and scheming should be punished according to that which it has deserved, as the law of the land demands, for God and as a work of charity.

6.

Also the said suppliants pray concerning the statute made at the parliament held at Westminster in the sixth year of the reign of our said lord the king that begins in these words: "Also it is ordained and established that neither in the city of London nor in other cities, boroughs, villages or ports of the sea, throughout all the aforesaid kingdom, may any victualler henceforth hold, practice, or occupy judicial office in any way, except in villages where some qualified person to hold this position cannot be found, provided that the same judge, for the time that he remains in that office, utterly ceases from the practice of a victualler upon the penalty of forfeiture of their victuals sold in such a way, and that he abstains, for him and all his, from the same"; the contrary of which statute is practised in the same said city. So may it please our said lord the King and the aforesaid lords to grant that the said statute should be held as well in the said city as elsewhere and forthwith put into execution <...> against any statute or ordinance being subsequently made to the contrary in any way.

7.

Also the said suppliants show how a book called the Jubilee was in the chamber of the Guildhall of the said city, in which {was} many – and for the greater part of all –



the good articles compiled by long and ancient experience, touching the good governance of the same city, to the observance of which articles the mayor, recorder, aldermen and the good commons of the same city were sworn and were accustomed to be {sworn} from time to time. The same book, after the feast of Easter last passed, by covin and ordinance of some, in the time of the present mayor, is burnt to the great damage of the governance of the same city in times to come.

## 7h) The Saddlers' Petition

Languages: Anglo-Norman, Latin

Source: TNA, SC 8/20/999

Manuscript: 38.5cm x 44.8cm [33cm x 39.6cm]. Condition poor; approximately one-quarter of the manuscript now lost.

References: Previously translated in John W. Sherwell, *A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Guilds of Saddlers of the City of London* (London: Harrison, 1889), pp. 41-44.

### Text

1.

A Tresexcellent & trespuissant *seignour* nostre tresredote *seignour* le Roy & as tresnobles & sages *seignours* diceste present parlement.

Supplient treshumblement ses pouerez ligez Sellers de loundres & se pleignent vers Nichol Brembre chivaler *que* come le dite mon*seignour* Nichol en sa mairalte lan du regne nostre dite *seignour* le Roy primere<sup>28</sup> <de>maunda as Wardeins du dite mistier *pour* la chartre a eux par les nobles progenitours nostre dite *seignour* le Roy graunteez & confermez en quel chartre furront grauntez diuerses pointz en distruccioun des deceits par diuerses foreyns fait come pleynement piert par le copie annexe aiceste<sup>29</sup> a quel temps les gardeins du dite mestier respondirent au dite *seignour* Nichol quils ne voleient lour dite chartre a luy deliverez sanz comandement du Roy ou de parlement. Le quel Nichol manasaunt eux hidousement quil voleit luy dismettre de soun espeie & faire leuer toute la dite Citee sur la dite mestier *pour* doute de quel chose & en saluacioun de lour vies deliuerent a luy lour chartre le quel il ad deteiniz & vnquore detient en preiudice de la corone nostre dite *seignour* le Roi & a graunt damage & vilenye du dit mestier. Qount ils priount remedie & sur luy c<e>o *que* le ley demaunde *pour* dieu & en eoure de charite.

2.

Item les ditz suppliants se pleignent vers le dite *seignour* Nichol & autres ses accomplic<e>s de soun assent de ceo *que* le dite *seignour* Nichol oue lassent de les autres de soun assent auant ditz accrocha sur luy Roial poir de ceo *que* par la quil ad estee usee en la dite citee tout temps dount nule memoire ne court & *pour* lour

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<sup>28</sup> i.e. 1387-88.

<sup>29</sup> A possible scribal error for 'diceste'.

chartre des Roys *grauntez* & confermez quant le maire de loundres *serra* eslutz y *serra* eslutz *par* la *communealte* & frank gentz du dite Citee la les auant ditz *seignour* Nichol & les autres ses accomplices *par* *lour* conspiracie & fauxe ymaginacioun *pour* destruire bones gentz du dite citee & encountre la ffraunchise dicell fisrent somondre certains gentz queux furent de *lour* assent ala Gyhall de la dite Citee en la ffeste de seint Edward le Roy lan du regne nostre *seignour* le Roy *quorest* eoptisme<sup>30</sup> *pour* eslire vn maire. Et le dite *seignour* Nichol *par* assent de toutz les autres fist crier en diuerses parties du dite Citee & charger chescun home de dite Citee sur peyne demprisonement & sur la peyne {de quanque} <pourroie>nt forfaire deuers le Roy *que* nul ne serroit si hardy destre al dite elleccioun fors ceux *que* feurent somouns & ceux *que* feurent somouns feurent somouns *par* assent du dite *seignour* Nichol & ses {autres et mesme le} iour a cele elleccioun *que* fuist fait encountre *lour* fraunchise le dite *seignour* Nichol & les autres de soun assent ordeigneront certains gentz sibien foreyns come autres a *graunt* {nombre les} <queu>x furent al Gyhall auant dite <pour> faire cele eleccioun & *pour* auoir mys au mort toutz autres gentz *queux* ne furent pas somouns si ils vssent la venuz *pour* la dite eleccioun. *Par* *quei* plese {a nostre dite seignour le} <R>oy & les tr<esn>obles & sagez *seignours* en ceste *present* parlement de ceste horrible chose fait encountre ley & la corone ent faire due remedie *pour* dieu & en eoure de charite.

3.

{Item les ditz} <suplian>tz se pleignent deuers le dite *seignour* Nichol deceo quil oue lassent des a<u>tres ses acomplices accrocha sur luy Roial poair ence<o> quil venoit en chepe oue *graunt* multitude des gentz {armez a *graunt*} doute de *tous* les bones <gentz> du dite <Cit>ee & illeoques ad mys a mort John Costantyn Cordewaner. Et apres vient as schopes des diuerses gentz de sell<ers> & eux manasa dauoire <...> en mesme la manere *pour* quel ascun de eux f<uwy>erent hors de la dite Cite & ne cosoient illeoques venir *pour* doute de perdre *lour* vies. Et apres le dite *seignour* Nichol prist certeinz gentz <...> <me>stier & eux mist en prisoun sanz ascun response ou ley a *graunt* doute de *lour* vies & perde de *lour* biens. Issint *quil* & les autres de soun assent accrocherent sur eux Roial poair {encontre} l<a> c<oro>ne nostre di<te> *seignour* le Roy. Qe plese a nostre dite *seignour* le Roy &

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<sup>30</sup> i.e. 13th of October 1383.

les *seignours* auant ditz diceste chose fait encountre la corone & ley de terre eux<sup>31</sup>  
faire solonc ceo quils ount deseruy {pour dieu & en eoure} de c<haritee>.

4.

{Item les ditz suppliantz se pleignent vers le dit} *seignour* Nichol deceo quil oue  
lassent des autres ses complices & Couygne accrocha sur luy Roial poair deceo quils  
conspirerent {& ymaginerent pour auoir mys a mort plusours} <bo>nes gentz de  
loundres & pour ceo quils ne purroient faire cele chose sanz ascun cause ils  
conspirerent de eux enditer de felonie {& treson & mistrent sur les enquestes de eux  
enditer} ceux *que* feurent del affinite & assent du dite *seignour* Nichol & *queux*  
feurent de male fame come ouertement serra prouez {si les enditemens feurent  
deuant vous. Que plese a nostre} dite *seignour* le Roy & les *seignours* auant ditz  
diceste horrible matiere ent faire due remedie & charger Nichol Exton' ore maire {de  
loundres de faire venir deuant vous toutz les enditementz} *queux* sont e<n> sa  
garde en auantage du Roy pour dieu & en eoure de charite.

5.

{Item les ditz suppliantz se pleignent vers le dit *seignour* Nichol deceo quil oue  
lassent des} autres auant ditz de sa Couygne accrocha su<r> luy Roial poair deceo  
quils fisrent *grauntz* {assembles en diuerses lieux de la dite citee par diuerses foitz  
par diuerses gentz de la dite} <Cite>e & la conspirerent entre eux coment ils  
purroient meyntener *leur* fauxime quils vssent {adeuant comencez pour destruire  
ceux que pleignent ore & tous autres *queux* feurent enditez par} *leur* ymaginacioun  
& conspiracie ffe<ust> ordeignez par *leur commune* assent de prendre {de les auant  
ditz gentz *queux* feurent de leur assent a ceste fauxime meyntener *graunt* somes}  
dargent la quel torcenouse prise ad estee continue du temps *que* John' Norhampton  
{feust oustee de son office et le dite *seignour* Nichol Brembre eslutz par le manere il  
est dist auant tanque en cea & unqore} est continue. *Que* plese a nostre dite *seignour*  
le Roy & les *seignours* auant ditz *que* ceste {faux conspiracie & ymaginacion soit  
puniz solonc ceo quil ad deservy come le ley de terre demaunde} pour dieu & en  
eoure de charite.

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<sup>31</sup> Scribal error for 'ent'.

6.

{ Item les ditz suppliantz suppliont que lestatut fait al parlement tenuz a Westm' lan du regne nostre dite seignour le Roy sisme<sup>32</sup> que comence } <e>n cestes paroles Item *ordinatum est & statutum* { quod nec in aliis ciuitatibus burgis villis vel portibus maris par totum regnum predictum aliquis vitallarius officium } <Iudici>ale de *cetero* *habeat* *exerceat* *neque* *ocupet* { quovismodo nisi in villis vbi alia persona sufficiens ad huius statum *habendum* reperiri non poterit dum tamen idem iudex pro tempore quo in } <offici>o illo steterit ab *exercicio* vitallarii *sub* { pena forisfacture victualium suorum sic venditorum penitus ceset & se abstinat pro se & suis omino ab eodem la contrarie de quel estatut est vse } <e>n mesme la Citee. *Qe* plese { a nostre dite seignour le Roy & les seignours auant ditz graunt que le dite estatut soit tenuz sibien en la dite citee come aillours & meyntenant nys en } <execu>cioun nient encountre { esteat ascun estatut ou ordinance fait en le countre de puy en cea }.

7.

{ Item monstront les ditz suppliantz que come vn liure appell le Jubilee feust en la chaumbre de la Gyhall de la dite citee en quel plupours & pour la greyndre partie de } toutz les bones { articles compiles par longe & aunciene experience tochant le bone gouernayle de mesme la cite alobseruance des quel articles les meire, recordour } audermans & les { bones communes de mesme la citee estoient iurrez & soleient estre de temps en temps mesme ceste liuer puis la ffeste de pasque darrein passez<sup>33</sup> par couygne } & ordinance { dascuns en temps du mair qorest est ars a graunt damage de la gouernance du dite citee entemps a venir }.

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<sup>32</sup> i.e. 1382-83 (the statute was enacted in 1382).

<sup>33</sup> Easter fell on the 7th of April in 1387.

## Translation

1.

To the most excellent and most powerful lord, our most dread lord the king, and to the most noble and wise lords of this present parliament pray most humbly the poor lieges the Saddlers of London, and they complain against Nicholas Brembre, knight, how the said Sir Nicholas, in his mayoralty in the first year of the reign of our said lord the king, demanded the wardens of the said mystery for the charter granted to them and confirmed by the noble forebears of our said lord the king, in which charter various items were granted towards the distruction of the deceits made by various foreigners, as plainly appears by the copy attached to this. At which time, the wardens of the said mystery answered the said Sir Nicholas that they would not deliver their said charter to him without the commandment of the king or of parliament. The which Nicholas threatened them horribly that he would drive them out by his sword and make all the said city to rise upon the said mystery. For fear of which thing, and in saving of their lives, they delivered their charter to him, which he has withheld and still withholds to the detriment of the crown of our said lord the king and to the great damage and harm of the said mystery. So they ask for a remedy and upon him that which the law demands, for God and as a work of charity.

2.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas and others his accomplices of his party thereof: that the said Sir Nicholas, with the agreement of the aforesaid others of his party, accroached to himself royal power in that whereas it has been practised in the said city from time immemorial – and granted and confirmed by their charter of kings – {that} when the mayor of London will be elected he will be elected by the commonalty and free men of the said city, the aforesaid Sir Nicholas and the others, his accomplices, by their conspiracy and false scheming – in order to destroy the good men of the said city and against the franchise of the same – summoned certain men who were of their party to the Guildhall of the said city on the feast of Saint Edward the King, in the seventh year of the reign of our lord the present king, in order to elect a mayor. And the said Sir Nicholas, by the agreement of all the others, proclaimed in various parts of the said city and charged each man of the said city – upon the penalty of imprisonment and

upon the penalyy of all that they could forfeit to the king – that no-one should be so bold as to be at the said election except for those who were summoned, and those who were summoned were summoned by the agreement of the said Sir Nicholas and his others. And the same day at that election that was made against their franchise, the said Sir Nicholas and the others of his party ordained certain men, foreigners as well as others, to a great number, the which were at the aforesaid Guildhall in order to make that election and in order to have put to death all other men who were not summoned if they should have come there for the said election. So may it please our said lord the king and the most noble and wise lords in this present parliament of this horrible thing, made against the law and the crown, to thereof make due remedy, for God and as a work of charity.

3.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of the others, his accomplices, accroached to himself royal power in that he came into Cheapside with a great multitude of armed men to the great fear of all the good men of the said city; and there he has put to death John Constantyn, Cordwainer. And after they went to the shops of various men of the Saddlers, and threatened them to have <...> in the same manner, because of which some of them fled outside of the said city and would not come there for fear of the losing their lives. And after the said Sir Nicholas took certain men <...> mystery and put them in prison without any judgement or law, to the great fear for the lives and loss of their goods. In that way he and the others of his party accroached to themselves royal power against the crown of our said lord the king. So may it please our said lord and the aforesaid lords of this thing made against the crown and the law of the land to thereof act according to that which they have deserved, for God and as a work of charity.

4.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of the others, his accomplices of his covin, accroached to himself royal power in that they conspired and schemed in order to have put to death many good men of London; and because they could not do that thing without some cause, they conspired to indict them of felony and treason, and they appointed as officers of

the inquests to indict them those who were of the accord and party of the said Sir Nicholas, and who were of bad renown – as openly will be proven if the indictments were before you. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords of this horrible matter to thereof make due remedy and to charge Nicholas Exton, now mayor of London, to make come before you all the indictments which are in his keeping, to the advantage of the king, for God and as a work of charity.

5.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of the aforesaid others of his coven, accroached to himself royal power in that they made large assemblies in various parts of the said city, during various times, {of} various men of the said city; and there they conspired amongst themselves how they could maintain their falseness that they had before begun in order to destroy those who complain now and all the others who were indicted by their false scheming and conspiracy. It was ordained by their common agreement, to maintain this falseness, to take from the aforesaid men who were of their party great sums of money, the which wrongful taking has been continued from the time that John Northampton was removed from his office and the said Sir Nicholas Brembre {was} elected by the manner that is said before until now, and still is continued. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords that this false conspiracy and scheming should be punished according to that which it has deserved, as the law of the land demands, for God and as a work of charity.

6.

Also the said suppliants pray concerning the statute made at the parliament held at Westminster in the sixth year of the reign of our said lord the king that begins in these words: “Also it is ordained and established that neither in the city of London nor in other cities, boroughs, villages or ports of the sea, throughout all the aforesaid kingdom, may any victualler henceforth hold, practice, or occupy judicial office in any way, except in villages where some qualified person to hold this position cannot be found, provided that the same judge, for the time that he remains in that office, utterly ceases from the practice of a victualler upon the penalty of forfeiture of their victuals sold in such a way, and that he abstains, for him and all his, from the same”; the contrary of which statute is practised in the same city. So may it please our said



lord the king and the aforesaid lords to grant that the said statute should be held as well in the said city as elsewhere and forthwith put into execution against any statute or ordinance being subsequently made to the contrary in any way.

7.

Also the said suppliants show how a book called the Jubilee was made in the chamber of the Guildhall of the said city, in which many – and for the greater part of all – the good articles compiled by long and ancient experience, touching the good governance of the same city, to the observance of which articles the mayor, recorder, aldermen and the good commons of the same city were sworn and were accustomed to be {sworn} from time to time. The same book, after the feast of Easter last passed, by covin and ordinance of some, in the time of the present mayor, is burnt to the great damage of the governance of the city in times to come.

## 7i) The Cordwainers' Petition

Language(s): Anglo-Norman, Latin

Source: TNA, SC 8/20/998

Manuscript: 34.6cm x 37.2cm [30.1cm x 30.7cm]. Condition excellent.

References: Transcribed in *Rotuli Parliamentorum, ut et Petitiones, et Placita in Parlamento Tempore Ricardi II*, ed. by John Strachey, 6 vols (London: Record Commission, 1783), III, 226-27.

### Text

1.

A tresexcellent & tresgracious seignour nostre tresdoute seignour le Roy & as tresnobles seignours diceste present parlement.

Suppliont treshumblement ses pouerez liges les Cordewaners de sa Citee de londres come vn des membres de mesme la Citee & se pleignent deuers monseignour Nicholl Brembre Chiualer de ceo *que* la ou del temps dount nulle memoire ne court & par vertue des diuerses chartres par nostre dit seignour le Roy & ses nobles progenitours graunteez & confermeez ad estee vsee *que* la electioun du maire de la dite Citee deusse estre franchement fait chescun an le iour de seint Edward le Roy<sup>34</sup> par bone & peisible aduys de les plus sages & loialx de mesme la Citee & nemye autrement la le dit monseignour Nicholl ou lassent des autres ses accomplices lan du regne nostre dit seignour le Roy septisme<sup>35</sup> quant Johan Norhampton' feust oustee de son office, oue forte main debat & graunt multitude des gentz encontre la peas par auisement purvoiez feust fait maire du dite citee a tresgraunt destructioun des plusours bones liberteez franchises & auciens costumes de mesme la Citee encontre la ley de la terre & lour chartres auantditz come ouertement est conuz. Qe plese a nostre dit seignour le Roy & les seignours auantditz faire punir & chastier le dit monseignour Nicholl & autres ses accomplices come celui qad acrochee sur luy roial poair danientre & destruire les leyes & vsages auantditz sanz assent de nostre dit seignour le Roy & del parlement pur dieu & en oeure de charitee.

2.

Item les ditz suppliantz se pleignent deuers le dit monseignour Nicholl de ceo qil oue lassent des ses accomplices acrochant sur luy roial poaire lan auantdite venoit en

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<sup>34</sup> i.e. 13th of October.

<sup>35</sup> i.e. 1383-84.

Chepe oue *graunt* noumbre des gentz armeez a *graunt* doute des bones gentz du dite Citee et illeokes sodeynement sanz droit ioustice & proces du ley fist coper la teste dun Johan Costantyn Cordewaner du dite Citee et plusours du dit mistier myst en prisoun a *graunt* doute de lour vyes perde de lour biens & damage de lour corps sanz responce encontre droit & resoun. Qe plese a *nostre* dit seignour le Roy & les *seignours* auantditz ordeigner punissement sur le dit monseignour Nicholl & ses accomplices solonc ceo qils ount deseruyz pur dieu & en oeuvre de charitee.

3.

Item les ditz suppliantz se pleignent deuers le dit monseignour Nicholl de ceo qil oue lassent des ses accomplices conspirantz par lour faux ymaginacioun la veigle de saint Edward le Roy lan du regne *nostre* dit seignour le Roy septisme<sup>36</sup> fist proclamer *que* nul soit si hardy de venir a la Guyhall du dite Citee pur faire la electioun de lour maire fors ceux qi feurent pur iceo somons les queux fuerent somons *par soun* assent et auxi adonques proclamee feust *que* nul voyse armeez en la dite Citee sur grief forfaiture; le quel monseignour Nicholl la noet ensuiant fist carier a la dite Gyhall *graunt* quantite darmure oue quele sibien foreins come autres feurent armeez en la dite Gyhall lendemain *pour* la dite electioun faire & certains abusshementz des gentz armeez feurent illeokes mys. Et quant les bones gentz de la dite Citee la venoient *pour* la dite electioun faire solonc la franchise & launciene custume de dite Citee, les auantditz gentz armeez sailleront sur eux oue *graunt* noise criantz tuwez tuwez lour pursuiantz hydousement, parount les ditz bones gentz *pour* paour de mort se fuwyrent & ascondirent en mesons & autres liewes secretz come en terre de guerre et adonques eslirent le dit monseignour Nicholl *pour* mayre et issint la mairaltee du dite Citee depuis le dit temps tanque encea ad estee tenuz par conquest & maistrie. Qe plese a *nostre* dit seignour le Roy & les *seignours* auantditz diceste horrible chose faite encontre la Corone & la franchise du dite Citee ent ordeigner <due> remedie pur dieu & en oeuvre de charitee.

4.

Item le auantditz suppliantz se pleignent deuers le dit monseignour Nicholl de ceo qil oue assent des autres ses accomplices acrochant sur luy roial poair conspirerent &

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<sup>36</sup> i.e. 13th of October 1383.

ymagineront *pour* auoir mys a mort plusours bones gentz du dite Citee, et pur ceo qils ne purroient ceo faire sanz cause, ils les fesoient enditer de felonie, & lour enditours feurent del affinitee & assent le dit monseignour Nicholl & gentz de male fame come *serra* notoirement provez si les dites enditementz feussent deuant vous. Qe plese a nostre dit seignour le Roy & les seignours auantditz sur ceste horrible matire due remedie faire et charger Nicholl Exton' ore maire du dite Citee de faire venir deuant vous touz les enditementz queux feurent prises en auantage du Roy *pour* dieu & en oeure de charitee.

5.

Item les auantditz suppliantz monstrent coment le dit monseignour Nicholl & ses acomplices quant ils auoient enditeez *graunt* some des gentz du dite Citee *pour*<sup>37</sup> lour faux ymaginacioun & conspiracie suyrent a nostre dit seignour le Roy pur vne chartre de pardon la quele feust a eux *graunteez* come *par* la copie dicelle plus au plein poet apparer, la ou ceux qi feurent enditeez nauoient mye conussance de la dite chartre. Qe plese a nostre dit seignour le Roy & les seignours auantditz diceste faux ymaginacioun & conspiracie ordeigner due remedie *pour* dieu & en oeure de charitee.

6.

Item les auantditz suppliantz suppliont *que* lestatuit fait au parlement tenuz a Westm' lan du regne nostre dit seignour le Roy sisme *que* comence en cestes paroles Item *ordinatum est & statutum quod nec in Ciuitate london' nec in aliis Ciuitatibus Burgis villis vel portubus maris par totum regnum predictum aliquis vitallarius officium iudiciale decetero habeat excerceat neque occupet quouismodo nisi in villis vbi alia persona sufficiens ad huius statum habendum reperiri non poterit dumtamen idem Iudex pro tempore quo in officio steterit ab exercicio vitallarii sub pena forisfacture victuallium suorum sic venditorum penitus cesset & se abstineat pro se & suis omino ab eodem la contraire de quel estatut est vsee en mesme la Citee. Qe plese a nostre dit seignour le Roy & les seignours auantditz comander *que* le dit estatut soit tenuz sibien en la dite Citee come aillours & maintenant mys en execucioun *pour* dieu & en oeure de charitee.*

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<sup>37</sup> Possible scribal error for 'par'.

7.

Item les auantditz suppliantz se pleignent deuers Nicholl Exton' ore maire de londres fait *par* electioun de monseignour Nicholl Brembre & ses accomplices encontre la franchise & frank electioun du dite Citee de ceo *que* la ou feust compris en vne liure *que* feust appelee le Iubilee touz les bones articles appurtinantz al bone gouvernaille du dite Citee et le dit Nicholl maire monseignour Nicholl touz les Audermans & bones *communers* du dite Citee feurent iurrez de les tenir & sustenir as touz iours al honour de dieu & profit de *commune* poeple le quel liure le dit Nicholl Exton' & ses accomplices ount ars sanz consent de la bone *commune* du dite Citee a *graunt* destructioun & anientissement des plusours bones liberteez franchises & custumes de mesme la citee. Qe plese a *nostre* dit *seignour* le Roy & les *seignours* auantditz faire punir les ditz Nicholl Exton' monseignour Nicholl & lour accomplices come ceux qount acrochee sur eux roial poair de anientre & destruire les bones leyes & aunciens custumes auantditz pur dieu & en oeure de charitee.

## Translation

1.

To the most excellent and most gracious lord, our most dread lord the king, and to the most noble lords of this present parliament pray most humbly the poor lieges the Cordwainers of his city of London, as one of the members of the same city, and they complain against Nicholas Brembre, knight, thereof: that, whereas since time immemorial – and by virtue of various charters granted and confirmed by our said lord the king and his noble forebears – it has been practised that the election of mayor of the said city ought to be freely made each year on the day of Saint Edward the King, by the good and peaceable advice of the most wise and lawful {men} of the same city, and not otherwise, the said Nicholas with the agreement of the others his accomplices in the seventh year of the reign of our said lord the king, when John Northampton was removed from his office with strong hand, strife, and a great multitude of men against the peace, through prepared deliberation, was made mayor of the said city to the very great destruction of many good liberties, franchises and ancient customs of the same city, against the law of the land and their aforesaid charters, as openly is known. So may it please our said lord and the aforesaid lords to act to punish and admonish the said Sir Nicholas, and others, his accomplices, as he that accroached to himself royal power to annul and destroy the aforesaid laws and practices without the agreement of our said lord the king and of the parliament, for God and as a work of charity.

2.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of his accomplices, accoraching to himself royal power, in the aforesaid year came into Cheapside with a great number of armed men, to the great fear of the good men of the said city; and there, suddenly, without rightful justice and the process of law, he cut off the head of one John Constantyn, Cordwainer, of the said city, and he put many of the said mystery in prison, to the great fear for their lives, loss of their goods, and damage to their bodies, without recourse, against right and resaon. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords to ordain a punishment upon the said Sir Nicholas and his accomplices according to that which they have deserved, for God and as a work of charity.

3.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of his accomplices, conspiring by their false scheming the eve of Saint Edward the King in the seventh year of the reign of our said lord the King, proclaimed that no-one should be so bold as to come to the Guildhall of the said city to make the election of their mayor except for those who were summoned by the foregoing, the which were summoned by his agreement; and also it was then proclaimed that no-one should come armed into the said city upon a great forfeit. The which Sir Nicholas, the following night, carried to the said Guildhall a great quantity of armour, with which foreigners as well as others were armed in the said Guildhall the day after in order to make the said election, and certain ambushes of armed men were placed there. And when the good men of the said city came there in order to make the said election according to the franchise and the ancient custom of the said city, the aforesaid armed men sprang out upon them with a great noise shouting "Slaughter! Slaughter!", threateningly chasing them. Whereby the said good men fled for fear of death, and hid in houses and other secret places as in a land of war; and they then elected the said Sir Nicholas as mayor. And in that way the mayoralty of the said city, since the said times until now, has been held through conquest and force. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords of this horrible thing made against the crown and the franchise of the said city to thereof ordain due remedy, for God and as a work of remedy.

4.

Also the aforesaid suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of the others, his accomplices, accoraching to himself royal power, conspired and schemed in order to have put to death many good men of the said city; and because they could not do that without a cause, they indicted them of felony, and their indicters were of the accord and party of the said Sir Nicholas, and {were} men of bad renown, as will be notoriously proven if the said indictments were before you. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords to make upon this this horrible matter due remedy and to charge Nicholas Exton, now mayor of the said city, to make come before your all the indictments which were taken, to the advantage of the king, for God and as a work of charity.

5.

Also the aforesaid suppliants show how the said Sir Nicholas and his accomplices, when they had indicted a great number of men of the said city by their false scheming and conspiracy, sued to our said lord the king for a charter of pardon, the which was granted to them as can plainly appear by the copy of the same. However, those who were indicted did not have knowledge of the said charter. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords of this false scheming and conspiracy to ordain due remedy, for God and as a work of charity.

6.

Also the aforesaid suppliants pray <that> the statute made at the parliament held at Westminster in the sixth year of the reign of our said lord the King that begins in these words: “Also it is ordained and established that neither in the city of London nor in other cities, boroughs, villages or ports of the sea, throughout all the aforesaid kingdom, may any victualler henceforth hold, practice, or occupy judicial office in any way, except in villages where some qualified person to hold this position cannot be found, provided that the same judge, for the time that he remains in that office, utterly ceases from the practice of a victualler upon the penalty of forfeiture of their victuals sold in such a way, and that he abstains, for him and all his, from the same”; the contrary of which statute is practised in the same city. So may it please our said lord the King and the aforesaid lords to command that the said statute should be held as well in the said city as elsewhere and forthwith put into execution, for God and as a work of charity.

7.

Also the aforesaid suppliants complain against Nicholas Exton, now made mayor of London by the election of Sir Nicholas Brembre and his accomplices, against the franchise and free elections of the said city, thereof: how that it was comprised in a book called the Jubilee all the good articles appertaining to the good governance of the said city, and the said mayor Nicholas, Sir Nicholas, all the aldermen, and the good commoners of the said city were sworn to hold and to uphold them, for all days, to the honour of God and profit of the common people; the which book, the said Nicholas Exton and his accomplices have burnt, without the consent of the good



commons of the said city, to the great destruction and annulment of many good liberties, franchises and customs of the same city. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords to act to punish the said Nicholas Exton, Sir Nicholas, and their accomplices, as those who accroached to themselves royal power to annul and destroy the aforesaid good laws and ancient customs, for God and as a work of charity.

## 7j) The Embroiderers' Petition

Language(s): Anglo-Norman, Latin

Source: TNA, SC 8/20/1000

Manuscript: 29.5cm x 43.7 cm [24.9cm x 30.7cm]. Condition excellent.

### Text

1.

A tresexcellent & *tresgracious* seignour *nostre tresdoute* seignour le Roy & as *tresnobles* & *tressages seignours* esteantz en ceste present parlement.

Suppliont *treshumblement* ses poueres liges les Brouderers de sa Citee de londres come vn des membres de mesme la Citee & se pleignent deuers *monseignour* Nicholl Brembre chiualer de ceo *que* la ou del temps dount memoire ne court *par vertue* des diuerses chartres *^par^* *nostre* dit *seignour* le Roy & ses nobles *progenitours* a la dite Citee *graunteez* & confermez ad estee vsee en la dite Citee *que* lelection de lour maire deusse estre franchement fait chescun an le iour de seint Edward le Roy<sup>38</sup> *par* bone & peisible aduys de les plus sages & loialx de mesme la citee. La le dit *monseignour* Nicholl *par* assent des ses accomplices lan du regne *nostre* dit *seignour* le Roy septisme<sup>39</sup> oue fort main & debat & *graunt* multitude du poeple encontre la peas *par* auisement purvoiez feust fait maire du dite citee a *tresgraunt* destruction des plusours bones liberteez franchises & custumes de mesme la Citee, encontre lour chartres auantditz come ouertement est conuz. Qe plese a *nostre* dit *seignour* le Roy & les *seignours* auantditz faire punir le dit *monseignour* Nicholl come celui *que* acrocha sur luy roial poair *pour* anientre & destruire les bones leyes & vsages auantditz sanz assent de *nostre* dit *seignour* le Roy & <le> parlement pur dieu et en oeure de charitee.

2.

Item les ditz suppliantz se pleignent deuers le dit *monseignour* Nicholl de ceo qil lan <au>antdit encontre la peas *nostre* dit *seignour* le Roy & sanz cause *pour* sustenir ses tortz & fauxeteez acrochant a luy roial poair fist diuerses armeez en la dite citee *par* noet & *par* iour *par*<sup>40</sup> fauxement destruire les loialx liges *nostre seignour* le Roy

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<sup>38</sup> i.e. 13th of October.

<sup>39</sup> i.e. 1383-84.

<sup>40</sup> Possible scribal error for 'pour'.

du dite Citee et ascuns mist au mort ascuns fausement emprisona & ascuns fist fuwyr hors du dite citee & plusours autres tortz & meschiefs fist come ouertement est conuz. Qe plese a *nostre* dit seignour le Roy & les seignours auantditz ent ordeigner due punissement pur dieu & en oeure de charitee.

3.

Item les ditz suppliantz se pleignent deuers le dit monseignour Nicholl de ceo qil lan du regne *nostre* dit seignour le Roy septisme<sup>41</sup> encontre la franchise du dite citee & pur sustenir ses fauxeteez fist *proclamer* que nul soit si hardy de venir a la Gyhall du dite citee pour eslire le maire fors ceux qi feurent somouns, les queux feurent somouns par son assent et auxi adonques *proclamee* que nul voisist en la dite citee armeez sur grief forfaiture le quel monseignour Nicholl la noet deuant la iour del electioun du maire fist carier *graunt* quantite darmure en la dite Gyhall oue quele sibien foreins come autres feurent armeez en la dite Gyhall lendemain pour la dite electioun faire, et certains embusshementz des gentz armeez feurent mys illeoques encontre sa *proclamatioun*. Et quant les bones gentz de la dite citee la venoient pour la dite electioun faire solonc le franchise d<e> la dite citee, les auantditz gentz armeez sailleront hors sur les ditz bones gentz oue *graunt* noyse criantz tuwez tuwez hidousement lour pursuiant<z par>ount les ditz bones gentz pour paoir de mort se fuwyrent & ascondirent en mesons & autres lieux secretz come en terre de guerre, et issint le mairaltee du dite citee ad estee tenuz come par conquest & maistrie depuis le dit temps tanque encea. Qe plese a *nostre* dit seignour le Roy & les seignours auantditz ent ordigner due remedie pur dieu & en oeure de charitee.

4.

Item les ditz suppliantz se pleignent deuers le dit monseignour Nicholl de ceo que a quel heure que ascun du dite citee par cause du seruice ou ascun autre lise comandement aprocha a ascun seignour a qi le dit monseignour Nicholl ne vorroit que sa fauxine feusse conuz maintenant chescun tiel home deuoit estre par le dit monseignour Nicholl empesche qil estoit faux a le conseil du dite Citee & ensy au Roy. Et si la fauxine du dit monseignour Nicholl feusse contredit par nous Brouderers ou ascun autre mistier de la dite citee en general ou si ascun mistier sa

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<sup>41</sup> i.e. 1383-84.

dite mistier vorroit contresteere ou eux assembler *pour* leur necessitee ou profit come toutdys ad estee vsee, tantost ils deussent estre empeschez & enditeez qils vorroient leuer encontre la peas et plusours bones gentz de la dite citee ore sont enditeez & ouertement desclaundrez & tenuz disloialx & tretours a *nostre* dit *seignour* le Roy. Qe plese a *nostre* dit seignour le Roy & les *seignours* auantditz estre owel juge *que* les ditz suppliantz *pourroient* estre provez ou disprovez solonc la veritee de leur faitz et comander *que* les dites enditementz puissent estre mesmez deuant vous pur dieu & en oeure de charitee.

5.

Item les ditz suppliantz se pleignent deuers le dit monseignour Nicholl de ceo *que* quant les ditz bones gentz feurent desclaundrez come deuant est dit le dit monseignour Nicholl Brembre disoit ouertement *que* si ascunz de eux leur vorroit rendre coupable a *nostre* dit seignour le Roy de fauxetee, mesme *nostre* seignour le Roy leur ent serroit *grace* & a luy serroit bon seignour. Et si ascunz des ditz bones gentz qount estee & toutdys *par* la *grace* de dieu serront loialx feusse si hardy de offer la proeve pur sa loialtee, maintenant le dit monseignour Nicholl acrochant a luy roial poair luy comanda a *prisoun* nemye convut & sanz response issint *que* ascuns murrurent en mesme la *prisone*. Et iasoit *que* brief *nostre* dit seignour le Roy venoit au dit monseignour Nicholl *pour* emiorer le dit emprisonnee en la Chauncellarie ensemblement oue la cause de sa detenue, il ceo faire ne voloit en nulle manere en *graunt* despit des roailx mandementz. Qe plese a *nostre* dit seignour le Roy & les *seignours* auantditz ordeigner punissement sur le dit monseignour Nicholl come appent en ceo caas *pour* dieu & en oeure de charitee.

6.

Item suppliant & treshumblement requeront a *nostre* dit seignour le Roy & les *seignours* auantditz les desserditz brouderers *que* sils ou ascun de eux soient ^a vous^ empeschez dascun tort ou fauxetee *par* suggestioun dascuny qils purront estre gracieusement acceptez de faire leur excusacioun desicome ils serront trouez loialx a *nostre* dit seignour le Roy & la Citee auantditz. Entendantz tresgracieuses *seignours* *que* les dites tortz & fauxeteez *par* le dit monseignour Nicholl feurent faitz en la dite Citee, la plus *graunt* partie ou touz des ditz suppliants diceo non sachantz ou encontre leur volunteez.

## Translation

1.

To the most excellent and most gracious lord, our most dread lord the king, and to the most noble and wise lords being in this present parliament pray most humbly the poor lieges the Emboirderers of his city of London, as one of the members of the same city, and they complain against Sir Nicholas Brembre, knight, thereof: that, whereas since time immemorial – {and} by virtue of various charters granted and confirmed to the said city by our said lord the king and his noble forebears – it has been practised in the said city that the election of their mayor ought to be freely made each year on the day of Saint Edward the King, by the good and peaceable advice of the most wise and lawful {men} of the same city, the said Sir Nicholas with the agreement of his accomplices in the seventh year of the reign of our said lord the King, with strong hand, strife, and a great multitude of people, against the peace, through prepared deliberation, was made mayor of the said city to the very great destruction of many good liberties, franchises and customs of the same city, against their aforesaid charters, as openly is known. So may it please our said lord and the aforesaide lords to act to punish the said Sir Nicholas as he that accroached to himself royal power to annul and destroy the aforesaid good laws and practices without the agreement of our said lord the king and the parliament, for God and as a work of charity.

2.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, in the aforesaid year, against the peace of our said lord the king and without cause, in order to sustain his wrongs and deceits, accoraching to himself royal power, made various armies in the said city by night and by day in order to falsely destroy the lawful lieges of our lord the king {and} of the said city; and some he put to death, some falsely imprisoned, and some fled outside of the said city, and he made many other wrongs and mischiefs, as openly is known. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords to thereof ordain due punishment, for God and as a work of charity.

3.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, in the seventh year of the reign of our said lord the king, against the franchise of the said city, and in order to sustain his deceits, proclaimed that no-one should be so hardy as to come to the Guildhal of the said city in order to elect the mayor except for those who were summoned, the which were summoned by his agreement; and also he then proclaimed that no-one should come armed into the said city, upon severe forfeiture. The which Nicholas, the night before the day of the election of mayor, carried a great quantity of armour into the said Guildhall, with which foreigners as well as others were armed in the said Guildhall the day after in order to make that election, and certain ambushes of armed men were placed there against his proclamation. And when the good men of the said city came in order to make the said election according to the franchise of the said city, the aforesaid armed men sprang out upon the said good men with a great noise shouting “Slaughter! Slaughter!”, threateningly chasing them. Whereby the said good men fled for fear of death, and hid in houses and other secret places as in a land of war. And in that way the mayoralty of the said city has been held as if through conquest and force since the said times until now. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords to thereof ordain due remedy, for God and as a work of remedy.

4.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that whenever some {people} of the said city, because of service or any other lawful commandment, approached to any lord to whom the said Sir Nicholas did not want his deceit to be known, anon each such man ought to be impeached by the said Sir Nicholas that he was false to the council of the said city and thus to the king. And if the deceit of the said Sir Nicholas was refused by we embroiderers or any other mystery of the said city in general, or if any mystery would oppose his said mystery or assemble themselves for their necessity or profit – as always has been practised – they were immediately impeached and indicted that they would rise up against the peace; and many good men of the said city are now indicted and openly slandered and held disloyal and traitors to our said lord the king. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords to be an impartial judge that the said suppliants

could be proved or disproved according to the truth of their acts, and command that the said indictments should be brought before you, for God and as a work of charity.

5.

Also the said suppliants complain against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that when the said good men were slandered, as is before said, the said Sir Nicholas openly said that if any of them would give themselves up as guilty to our said lord the king of a deceit, our same lord the king would thereof be gracious to them and would be a good lord to him. And if any of the said good men – who are, and always by the grace of God will be, lawful – was so bold as to offer the proof for his loyalty, forthwith the said Sir Nicholas, accroaching to himself royal power, commanded him to prison not convicted, and without a defence. In that way some perished in the same prison. And when a writ of our said lord the king came to the said Sir Nicholas in order to judge the said imprisoned in the Chancellery together with the cause of their detention, he would not do that in no manner, in great contempt of the royal commandments. So may it please our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords, to ordain a punishment upon the said Sir Nicholas, as belongs in this case, for God and as a work of charity.

6.

Also the aforesaid Embroiderers pray and most humbly require our said lord the king and the aforesaid lords that if they or some of them be impeached to you of any wrong or deceit by the accusation of anyone, that they would be graciously accepted to make their excuse, since they will be found lawful to our said lord the king and the aforesaid city. Understand most gracious lords that the said wrongs and deceits were made by the said Sir Nicholas in the said city; the very great part, or all, {of} the said suppliants were thereof ignorant or {it was} against their wishes.

## 7k) The Mercers' Petition

Language(s): Middle English, Latin

Source: TNA, SC 8/20/997

Manuscript: 34.5cm x 55.6cm [31.4cm x 48.5 cm]. Condition excellent.

References: The Mercers' Petition has been edited several times (often with the Latin statute omitted). See *Rotuli Parliamentorum, ut et Petitiones, et Placita in Parlamento Tempore Ricardi II*, ed. by John Strachey, 6 vols (London: Record Commission, 1783), III, 224-25; *A Book of London English*, ed. by R. W. Chambers and Marjorie Daunt (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1931), pp. 33-37; *A Middle English Reader*, ed. by Oliver Farrar Emerson (London: MacMillan, 1905), pp. 232-37; *An Anthology of Chancery English*, ed. by J. H. Fisher, M. Richardson and J. L. Fisher (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), text 161, pp. 194-97.

### Text

1.

<T>o the moost noble & Worthiest Lordes moost ryghtful & wysest conseele to owre lige Lorde the Kyng, compleyne<n> if it lyke to yow the folk of the mercerye of London, <as> a <me>mbre of the same citee, of many wronges subtyles & also open oppressiouns ydo to hem by longe tyme here bfore passed.

2.

Of which oon was where the eleccioun of mairaltee is to be to the fre men of the citee, bi gode & paisible auys, of the wysest & trewest, at o day in the yere frelich, there nought withstondyng the same fredam or fraunchise, Nichol Brembre wyth his vpberers, *purposed* hym the yere next after John Northampton mair of the same citee, with stronge honde as it is ful knowen, & thourgh debate & strenger partye, ayeins the pees bfore purueyde, was chosen mair, in destruccioun of many ryght.

3.

ffor in the same yere the forsaid Nichol with outen nede ayein the pees, made dyuerse enarmynges bi day & eke bi nyght, & destruyd the kynges trewe lyges, som with open slaughtre, some bi false emprisonementz, and some fledde the citee for feere, as it is openlich knowen.



4.

And so ferthermore for to susteyne thise wronges & many othere, the next ye<r>e after the same Nichol ayeins the forsaide fredam & trewe *comunes*, did crye openlich that no man sholde come to chese her mair but such as were sompned, & tho that were sompned were of his ordynaunce & after his auys. And in the nyght next after folwyng he did carye grete quantitee of armure to the Guyldehalle, with which as wel straungers of the contree as othere of with jnne were armed on the morwe, ayeins his owne proclamatioun that was such, that no man shulde be armed. & certein bussshmentz were laide that, when free men of the Citee come to chese her mair breken vp armed, cryingng with loude voice sle, sle, folwyng hem, wherthourgh the peple for feere fledde to houses & other <hidy>nges as in londe of werre, adradde to be ded in *comune*.

5.

And thus yet hiderward hath the mairaltee ben holden as it were of conquest or maistrye, & many othere offices also. So that what man pryue or apert in special that he myght wyte, grocchyng pleyned or helde ayeins any of his wronges, or bi puttyng forth of whom so it were, were it neuer so vnpreuable, were apeched, & it were displesyng to hym Nichol, anon was emprisoned. And though it were ayeins falshede of the leest officer that hym lust meynteigne, was holden vntrewe lige man to owre kyng for who reproued such an officer maynteigned bi hym, of wronge or elles, he forfeited ayeins hym Nichol, & he vnworthy as he saide, represented the kynges estat. Also if any man bi cause of seruyce or other leueful comaundement, approched a lorde, to which lord<e> he Nichol dradde his falshede to be knowe to, anon was apeched that he was false to the conseil of the Citee, & so to the kyng.

6.

And yif in *general* his falsenesse were ayeinsaide, as of vs togydre of the mercerye, or othere craftes, or ony conseil wolde haue taken to ayeinstande it, or as out of mynde hath be vsed, wolden companye togydre how lawful so it were, for owre nede or profite, were anon apeched for arrysers ayeins the pees & falsly many of vs that yet stonden endited, and we ben openlich disclaundred, holden vntrewe & traitours to owre kyng, for the same Nichol sayd bifor mair, aldermen, & owre craft, bifor hem gadred in place of recorde, that xx or xxx of vs were worthy to be drawn &

hanged. The which thyng lyke to yowre worthy lordship, by an euen juge to be proued or disproued, the whether that trowthe may shewe, for trouthe amonges vs, of fewe or elles no man many day dorst be shewed. And nought oonlich vnsheved or hidde it hath be by man now, but also of bifore tyme the moost profitable poyntes of trewe gouernance of the Citee, compiled togidre bi longe labour of discrete & wyse men, wyth out conseil of trewe men, for thei sholde nought be knowen ne contynued, in the tyme of Nichol Exton mair, outerliche were brent.

7.

And so ferforth falsehede hath be vsed that oft tyme he Nichol Brembre saide in sustenaunce of hys falshede, owre lige lordes wille was such, that neuer was such, as we suppose. He saide also whan he hadde disclaundred vs, which of vs wolde yelde hym false to his kyng, the kyng sholde do hym *grace*, cherise him & be good lorde to hym. And if any of vs alle that wyth goddes help haue & shulle be founden trewe was so hardy to profre prouyng of hym self trewe, anon was comaunded to prisone as well bi the mair that now is as of hym Nichol Brembre bifore.

8.

And we haue be comaunded oft tyme vp owre ligeaunce to vnneful & vnleueful dyuerse douynges, and also to wythdrawe vs, bi the same comaundement f<ro> thynges nedeful & lefful, as was shewed whan a companye of gode women, there men dorst nought, trauailleden barfote to owre lige lorde, to seche *grace* of hym for trewe men as they supposed, for thanne were such proclamaciouns made that no man ne woman sholde approche owre lige lorde for sechyng of *grace* & ouermany othere comaundementz also, bifore & sithen bi suggestioun & informacioun of suche that wolde nought her falsnesse had be knowen to owre lige lorde. And lordes by yowre leue, owre lige lordes comaundement to symple & vnkonnyng men is a gret thyng to ben vsed so famulerlich, with outen nede, for they vnwyse to saue it, mowe lyghtly ther ayeins forfait.

9.

ffor thy graciouse lordes lyke it to yow to take hede in what manere & where owre lige lordes power hath ben mysused by the forsaid Nichol & his vpberers, for sithen thise wronges bifore saide han ben vsed as accidental, or *comune* braunches outward,

it sheweth wel the rote of hem is a ragged subie<ct> or stok inward, that is the forsaid Brere or brembre, the whiche *comune* wronge vses, & many other, if it lyke to yow, mowe be shewed & wel knowen bi an indifferent juge & mair of owre Citee, the which wyth yowre ryghtful lordeship ygraunted for moost pryncipal remedye, as goddes lawe & al resoun wole, that no domesman stonde togidre juge & partye, wronges sholle more openlich be knowe, & trouth dor apere. And ellis, as amonge vs, we konne nought wyte in what manere without a moch gretter disese, sith the *gouvernaunce* of this Citee standeth as it is bifor saide & wole stande whil vittailleurs bi suffraunce presumen thilke states vpon hem, the which *gouvernaunce* of bifor this tyme to moche folke yhidde & sheweth hym self now open whether it hath be a cause or bygynnyng or dyuysioun in the Citee & after in the Rewme, or no.

10.

Wherfore for grettest nede as to yow moost worthy, moost ryghtful & wysest lordes & conseilte to owre lige lorde the kyng, we biseche mekelich of yowre gra<ce> coreccioun of alle the wronges bifore sayde & that it lyke to yowre lordeship to be gracious menes to owre lyge lorde the kyng, that suche wronges be knowen to hym, & that we mowe shewe vs & sith ben holden, suche trewe to hym, as we ben, & owe to ben.

11.

Also we biseche vnto yowre *gracious* lordeship that if any of vs in special or general be apeched to owre lige lorde or to his worthy conseilte, bi comunyng with othere, or approchyng to owre kyng as wyth Brembre or hys abettours with any wronge wytnesse beryng, as that it stode other wyse amonges vs here, than as it is now proued it hath ystonde, or any other wronge suggestioun, by which owre lige lorde hath ybe vnleeffullich enfourmed, that thanne yowre worshipful lordship be such, that we mowe come in answer to excuse vs. ffor we knowe wel as for by moche the more partye of vs and, as we hope for alle, alle suche wronges han ben vnwytyng to vs, or elles outerlich ayeins owre wille.

12.

And ryghtful lordes for oon the grettest remedye with othere forto ayeinstonde many of thilke diseses afore saide amonges vs, we prayen wyth mekenesse this specialich,

that the statut ordeigned & made bi parlement holden at westmystre in the sexte yere of owre kyng now regnyng, mowe stonde in strengthe & be execut as wel here in london as elles where in the rewme, the which is this, Item *ordinatum est & statutum quod nec in ciuitate Londoniorum nec in alys Ciuitatibus Burgis villis vel portibus maris par totum regnum predictum, aliquis vitallar officium iudiciale decetero habeat excerceat neque occupet quouismodo nisi in villis vbi alia persona sufficiens ad huius statum habendum repperiri non poterit dum tamen idem iudex pro tempore quo in officio illo steterit, ab excercicio vitallarii sub pena forisfacture victualium suorum sic venditorum penitus cesset & se abstineat pro se & suis omnino ab eodem & c.*

## 71) The Cutlers, Bowyers, Fletchers, Spurriers, and Bladesmiths' Petition

Languages(s): Anglo-Norman, Latin

Source: TNA, SC 8/21/1006

Manuscript: 44.9cm x 51.1cm [39.1cm x 43.5cm]. Condition poor; parts of the left side destroyed obscuring the opening words of each line; large hole in right-hand margin effecting text in three paragraphs.

References: Transcribed and translated in Charles Welch, *History of the Cutlers' Company of London and of the Minor Cutlery Crafts*, 2 vols (London: The Cutlers' Company, 1916), I, 263-71.

### Text

1.

<...> Roi nostre tressoueraigne & liege seignour Et as tresnobles & p<ui>ssantz seignours de cest present parlement  
<...> <me>stiers de Coutellers Bowyers fletchers Esporiours & Bladesmythes de loundres enuers monseignour Nichol Br<em>bre que come sur ceo que lan du Roy nostre dit souurain seignour sisme Johan Norh<ampton> <...> rencontre le fest de seint Edward lan deserdit<sup>42</sup> fist garnir les bonnes & franchises gentz de mesme la Cite comme la franchise est & vsage de mesme la Citee destre a le Gildhalle en mesme la <...> monseignour Nichol ouec ses complices mesme le iour imagenant a destruire la bonne gouernance de la dite Citee ordeyna certayins mesfesours de son assent armes pour yceluy iour eslire le dit monseignour {Nichol en maire du dite Cite} <...> dit Roy nostre dit seignour & la franchise de lour dite Citee Et aucuns de son assent qui ouec luy yfurent presens baterent & trayrent certaynes certaines<sup>43</sup> gens ainsi que les bones qui y furent pour <...> pas demourer pour doubte de lour vies si que le dit monseignour Nichol fut esleu en son primer an en quel temps il acrocha sur lui Royal pouuoir contre la Couronne du Roy nostre dit seignour <...> {Pour quoi} <p>lese a vostre droiturelle seignours ordener & fere deu remede sur ceste horrible matere pour dieu & en oeure de charite.

2.

<...> suppliantz de ce que le dit monseignour Nichol ouec lassent dautres ses com<pl>ices acrocha sur lui Royal pouuoir de ce que par la ou il a este vse en

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<sup>42</sup> i.e. 13th of October 1382. The scribe appears to have written 'sisme' in error. It should be 'septimse'.

<sup>43</sup> Scribal error.

loundres du temps dont memoire ne court & par lour { chartre des roys grauntez & confermez quant le mair de } <l>oundres sera esleu il sera esleu par toute la communalte de la Citee deserdite & la les auantdis monseignour Nichol & les autres ses dis complices par lour conspiracie & fauxe ymaginacioun pour destruire le { bones gentz du dite citee & } <encont>re la franchise fyerent somondre certaines gens qui furent de lour assent destre a le Gildhalle de loundres en le feste de saint Edward le Roy lan du regne du Roy nostre dit seignour sept<isme><sup>44</sup> { pour eslire un mair Et le dit } monseignour Nichol par lassent de toutz les autres a lui complices fist crier en diuerses parties de loundres & charger chescun homme de la Citee sur paine de emprisonement & sur la paine quil { pourroient forfaire deuers le Roy que nul serroit } si <har>dy destre a la dite eleccioun forspris ceux qui furent somonez les queux furent somonez par lour assent. Et mesme le iour a celle eleccioun que fist faite encontre lour franchise <le> dit { seignour Nichol & les autres de son } <ass>ent ordeinerent certaines gens auxi bien foraines come deseines a celle eleccioun les queux furent armes a le Gildhalle de loundres pour faire celle eleccioun & pour auoir mis { a mort toutz autres gentz queux ne feurent pas } <sum>ounez & ils yeussent venuz pour la dite eleccioun. Pour quoi plese au Roy nostre dit souurain seignour & aux dis tresnobles & puissans seignours de ceste present parlement de cest<e horri>ble { chose fait encontre ley & } la coroune <ord>ainer & fere due remedie pour dieu & en oeure de charite.

3.

<...> <mo>nseignour Nichol de ce quil ouec lassent des dis ses complices acrocha sur lui Royal pouuoir en ce quil vient en Chepe oue grant multitude de gents { armez a graunt doute & affrai de toutz les bones gentz } <d>u dite Ci<t>ee & pluser gens de mesme la citee furent enprisounes a grant doubte de lour vies & grans perdes de lour biens & damage de lour corps sanz response pour quoi pl<ese> { au Roy nostre dit souurain seignour & aux dis } <tresnob>les & puissans seignours de ceste present parliement de ceste chose faite encontre la Coroune du Roy nostre dit seignour & les loyes de son Royalme ordeiner & fere punir les dis mesfe<sours> { pour dieu & en oeure de } <ch>arite.

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<sup>44</sup> i.e. 13th of October 1383.

4.

<...> supplians vers le dit monseignour Nichol de ce qu'il ouec lassent & aide des dis ses complices acrocha sur lui Royal pouuoir en ce qu'ils conspirerent & ymaginerent {pour auoir mys au mort plusours bones gentz de} <loundr>es et pour ce qu'ils ne pouroient fere celle chose sans aucun cause ils conspirerent des eux enditer de felonie & mistrent sur les enquestes pour enditer ceux qui fuerent de {affinite & assent du dite segnour Nichol & queux feurent de male} <fam>e <co>mme il sera ouuertement prouuee si lez enditemens fuissent deuant vous. Par quoy plese au Roy nostre dit souurain seignour & aux deserdis tresnobles & puissans seignours de ceste present {parliament de ceste chose} or<deiner> & fere deu remede & y charger Nicholas Exton' ore maire de loundres de fere venir deuant vous touz les enditemens acusemens & apels esteans en sa garde en au<antage {du Roy} <pou>r dieu <& en eour>e de charite.

5.

<...> vers le dit monseignour Nichol de ce qu'il ouec lassent & aide des dis sez complices acrocha sur lui Royal pouuoir en ce qu'ils firent vne grande assemblee e<n> {diuerses lieux de la dite citee par diuerses} f<oitz> {par} <diuer>ses gens de la dite Citee & la conspirerent entre eulx comme ils pourroient maintenir lour fauxine qu'ils eurent au deuant commencez pour destruire les present pla<ignonts> {& tous autres queux} <feur>ent endites par lour fa<ux>e ymaginacioun & conspiracie; fut ordene de lour commun assent deprendre des dites gens qui furent de lour assent a y celle fauxine grandes sommes d'argent ce<...> torcenouse prise d'argent a este c<on>tinue de le temps que Johan Northampton' fut ouste de son office & le dit monseignour Nichol esleu par la manere deserdite tanque en ca et encea {et unqore est continuez par le dit Nicholas Exton} qui ore est et lez autres qui feu<rent> de son assent. Par quoy plese au Roy nostre dit souurain seignour et aux dis tresnobles & puissans seignours de ceste present parliement ordener que ceste fa<u>xe cons<piracie> {& ymaginations susdites furent} punyz solonc la loy & que les ma<lfe>sours ont deserui pour dieu & en oeuvre de charite.

6.

<...> les dis supplians *que* lestatut fait au parlement tenu a Westm' lan du regne du Roy nostre dit souurain *seignour* qui ore est sisme<sup>45</sup> *que* commence en ces *parolles* Item *ordinatum* est {& *statutum* quod} nec in aliis Ciuitatibus burgi<s> villis vel portubus maris *par totum regnum predictum* aliquis vitallar officium Iudiciale neque ocupet quouismodo, nisi in villis vbi alia persona {sufficiens ad huius statum} *habendum* reperiri non poterit dum ta<m>en idem Iudex *pro tempore* quo in officio illo steterit excercicio vitallarii sub pena forisfacture victualium suorum sic venditorum penitus cesset & se {abstineat pro se & suis omino} ab eodem le contraie du quele estatut est vse en mesme la dîte Citee. Que plese au Roy nostre dit souurain *seignour* & aux deserdis *seignour* de ceste present parliement *que* le <d>it es<tat>ut {soit tenuz sibien en} <me>sme la Citee comme aillours & maintenant mis en execucion pour dieu & en oeure de charite.

7.

<...> <supp>lians coment le dit monseignour Nichol & les autres sez dis complices quant ils auoient enditez grant nombre de gens de la Citee de lo<ndres> *par* leur fauxe ymaginacion & conspiracie {le dit monseignour Nichol} & lez deserdis sez complices suyrent au Roy nostre dit tressouurain *seignour* pour vne chartre des pardoun la quelle leur fut ottroye selon la pourport de la Copie dycelle chartre, la quelle Cop<i>e a <...> Roy *que* ceux qui furent enditez nauoient mye cognoissance de la chartre. Par quoy plese au Roy nostre dit tressouurain *seignour* & aux dis tresnobles de cest present parliement sur ceste fauxe {ymaginacion &} <conspir>acie ordener & fere deu & couenable remedye pour dieu & en oeure de charite.

8.

<...> <suppli>ans sez plaignent vers Nicholas Exton ore maire de loundres *par* eleccioun du dit monseignour Nichol Brembre & ses complices encontre nostre franchise & franche eleccion *que* la ou fut co<mp>ris {en un} liu<re> <app>elle <la> Jubile tous les bons Articles appourtenans au bon gouuernaille de la dîte Citee <&> a tous ces Articles comprises dedens tel liure furent <iu>rez ycellui Nicholas

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<sup>45</sup> i.e. 1382-83 (the statute was enacted in 1382).



monseignour Nichol Brembre William <Chey>ne tous les A<u>dermens & tous les bons communs de sustenir mesmes Articles *pour* ten<u> iours al honnour de dieu & le *proufit* du commun peuple le quel liure le dit Nicholas Exton & ses {complices ars sanz} la consent de la bonne commune de la dite Citee si*que par* ce a le dit Nicholas ouec lassent de sez di<s> complices acroche sur lui Royal pouuoir encontre la Corone & son serement. *Par* quoy plese au Roy {nostre} dit souurain *seignour* & aux tresnobles *seignours* de cest *present* *parliament* ordene & fere de cest horrible *trespas* deu remede pour dieu & en oeure de charite.

9.

Item les auantdis supplians supplient *que* Nicholas Exton' ore maire de loundres soit descharge de son Office *pour* ce *quil* fut forsuige en la Gyldhalle de loundres de tous maneres de Offices *pour* tous iours <et> *pour* ce *quil* ne fut esleu comme la loy de la franchise de la dite Citee voet sinoun *par* le dit monseignour Nichol & *par* certaines gens de *lour* assent *pour* ce *que* le dit Nicholas Exton veut sustenir lez <fau>xet<ees &> extor<cions> qui furent comences *par* le dit monseignour Nichol & les autres de son affinite comme dist est. *Par* quoy soit il ouste de son dit Office pour dieu & en oeure de charite.

10.

{Item} lez dis supplians supplient *que* William Cheyne Recordour & hugh ffastolf <vi>scout de loundres soient descharges de *lour* Offices *pour* tous iours *pour* ce *quils* furent complices au <di>t monseignour Nic<hol> <...> les poins deserdis & autres.

11.

<Item m>onstr<e>nt les auantdis supplians *que* come il fut ordene *par* lestatut en vn *parlement* tenu a Westmonstre lan quint de Roy *nostre* dit *seignour* qui ore est<sup>46</sup> *que* nul Tonnel de meillour vin de Gascoigne de Oseye ou <de>spaygn ne *serroit* vendu a pl<us> haut prix *que* c s & autres Tonnelx de commun vin de mesmes les pays *pour* meindre prix selon la value comme *pour* sept mars six mars et *demi* & six mars et le <to>nnol de meillour vin de la Rochel <pour> six mars et le Tonnel dautre tiel

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<sup>46</sup> i.e. 1381-82.

vin de meindre pris soloun la value come pour v mars & demi cynk mars quatre mars  
 & demi & quatre mars et pipes & au<tres ve>sselz de <mein>dre quantite solon <l>a  
 qua<ntite> ycelles vins soient venduz aux dis paix, soloun lafferant des tonnelx  
 comme pleinement piert par le dit estatut, <Tou>s les maires & viscountez qui ont  
 estre en lo<ndres> depuis en ca <...> le dit esta<tut> <...> <...>dos & souffers tous  
 les vendours de vins vendre au contraire dycellui estatut Concelant le proufit du Roy  
 de lez forsfactoure a grant d<amag>e de tous les <seignours> {et le} <com>un  
 peuple de tout le <re>yme. Que plese a vostre haute discrecion & droiturelle  
 seignours considerer les poins & matieres desus exprimees y ordener ^le^ remede  
 que ent appor<t>ent <...> solon lez loys <d'Ang>leterre et sur ce le dit estatut soit  
 renouuelle en cest present parlement pour dieu & en oeure de charite.

## Translation

1.

<...> king, our most sovereign and liege lord, and to the most noble and powerful lords of this present parliament

<...> mysteries of the Cutlers, Bowyers, Fletchers, Spurriers, and Bladesmiths of London against Sir Nicholas Brembre, how – in the sixth year of the King, our said sovereign lord – around the {time of} the feast of Saint Edward in the aforesaid year – John Northampton <...> warned the good and free men of the same city, as is the franchise and custom of the same city, to be at the Guildhall on the same <...>, the same day, Sir Nicholas, with his accomplices, scheming to destroy the good governance of the said city, prepared certain malefactors of his party, armed for that day, in order to elect the said Sir Nicholas as mayor of the said city <...> said king, our said lord and the franchise of their said city. And some people of his party who were present with him assaulted and dragged certain certain men, so that the good men who were there in order to <...> not remain, for fear for their lives, so that the said Sir Nicholas was elected to his first year, in which times he accroached to himself royal power, against the crown of the king, our said lord <...> So may it please your just lords to ordain and make due remedy on this horrible matter, for God and as a work of charity.

2.

<...> pray thereof: that the said Sir Nicholas, with the agreement of others, his accomplices, accroached to himself royal power in that whereas it has been practised in London from time immemorial – and granted and confirmed by a charter of kings – {that} when the mayor of London will be elected he will be elected by all the coomonalty of the aforesaid city, the aforesaid Sir Nicholas and the others his said accomplices, by their conspiracy and false scheming – in order to destroy the good men of the said city and against the franchise – summoned certain men who were of their party to be at the Guildhall of London on the feast of Saint Edward the King, in the seventh year of the reign of the king, our said lord, in order to elect a mayor. And the said Sir Nicholas, by the agreement of all the others, accomplices to him, proclaimed in various parts of London and charged each man of the city – upon the penalty of imprisonment and upon the penalty of what they would forfeit to the king – that none should be so bold as to be at the said election except for those who

were summoned, the which were summoned by their agreement. And the same day at that election which was made against their franchise, the said Sir Nicholas and the others of his party prepared certain men, foreigners as well as denizens to that election, the which were armed at the Guildhall of London in order to make that election and in order to have put to death all other men who were not summoned if they should have come there for the said election. So may it please the king, our said sovereign lord, and the said most noble and powerful lords of this present parliament of this horrible thing made against law and the crown to ordain and make due remedy, for God and as a work of charity.

3.

<...> Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement of his said accomplices, accroached to himself royal power in that they came into Cheapside with a great multitude of armed men, to the great fear and fright of all the good men of the said city, and many men of the same city were imprisoned, to the great fear for their lives and great loss of their goods, and damage to their bodies, without recourse. So may it please the king, our said sovereign lord, and the said most noble and powerful lords of this present parliament of this thing made against the crown of the king, our said lord, and the laws of his realm, to ordain and act to punish the said malefactors, for God and as a work of charity.

4.

<...> suppliants against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement and help of his said accomplices, accroached to himself royal power in that they conspired and schemed in order to have put to death many good men of London; and because they could not do that thing without some cause, they conspired to indict them of felony, and they appointed as officers of the inquests to indict {them} those who were of the accord and party of the said Sir Nicholas, and who were of bad renown – as openly will be proven if the indictments were before you. So may it please the king, our said sovereign lord, and the aforesaid most noble and powerful lords of this present parliament of this horrible thing to ordain and make due remedy and to charge Nicholas Exton, now mayor of London, to make come before you all the indictments, accusations, and appeals being in his keeping, to the advantage of the king, for God and as a work of charity.

5.

<...> against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that he, with the agreement and help of his said accomplices, accroached to himself royal power in that they made a large assembly in various parts of the said city, during various times, {of} various men of the said city; and there they conspired amongst themselves how they could maintain their falseness that they had before before begun in order the destroy the present complainers and all others who were indicted by their false scheming and conspiracy. It was ordained by their common agreement, for this falseness, to take from the said men who were of their party great sums of money <...> wrongful taking of money has been continued from the time that John Northampton was removed from his office and the said Sir Nicholas {was} elected by the aforesaid manner until now, and still is continued by the said Nicholas Exton, who now is, and the others who were of his party. So may it please the King, our said sovereign lord, and the said most noble and powerful lords of this present parliament to ordain that this aforesaid false conspiracy and scheming should be punished according to the law and that the malefactors <...> have deserved, for God and as a work of charity.

6.

<...> the said suppliants concerning the statute made at the parliament held at Westminster in the sixth year of the reign of our said lord the King that begins in these words: "Also it is ordained and established that neither in the city of London nor in other cities, boroughs, villages or ports of the sea, throughout all the aforesaid kingdom, may any victualler henceforth hold, practice, or occupy judicial office in any way, except in villages where some qualified person to hold this position cannot be found, provided that the same judge, for the time that he remains in that office, utterly ceases from the practice of a victualler upon the penalty of forfeiture of their victuals sold in such a way, and that he abstains, for him and all his, from the same"; the contrary of which statute is practised in the same city. So may it please the king, our said sovereign lord, and the aforesaid lords of this present parliament that the said statute should be held as well in the same city as elsewhere and forthwith put into execution, for God and as a work of charity.

7.

<...> suppliants how the said Sir Nicholas and the others, his said accomplices, when they had indicted a great number of men of the city of London by their false scheming and conspiracy, the said Sir Nicholas and the aforesaid, his accomplices, sued to the king, our said most sovereign lord, for a charter of pardon, the which was granted to them, according to the purport of the copy of that charter, the which copy to <...> king, those were indicted did not have knowledge of the charter. So may it please the king, our said most sovereign lord, and the said most noble {lords} of this present parliament upon this false scheming and conspiracy to ordain and make due and appropriate remedy, for God and as a work of charity.

8.

<...> suppliants complain against Nicholas Exton, now mayor of London, by election of the said Sir Nicholas and his accomplices, against our franchise and free election, that whereas it was contained in a book called the Jubille all the good articles pertaining to the good governance of the said city, and to all the articles contained within such a book were sworn that Nicholas, Sir Nicholas Brembre, William Cheyne, all the aldermen, and all the good commons, to sustain the same articles for all days, to the honour of God and the profit of the common people, the which book the said Nicholas Exton, and his accomplices, burnt without the consent of the good commons of the said city, so that by that the said Nicholas, with the agreement of his said accomplices, accroached to himself royal power against the crown and his oath. So may it please the king, our said sovereign lord and the most noble lords of this present parliament to ordain and make due remedy for this horrible trespass, for God and as a work of charity.

9.

Also the aforesaid suppliants pray that Nicholas Exton, now mayor of London, be discharged from his office because he was forsworn in the Guildhall of London from all manner of officers for all days, and because he was not elected as the law of the franchise of the said city wills, but by the said Sir Nicholas and by certain men of their party because the said Nicholas Exton would sustain the falsenesses and extortions which were begun by the said Sir Nicholas and the others of his accord, as is said. So may he be removed from his said office, for God and as a work of charity.

10.

Also the said suppliants pray that William Cheyne, Recorder, and Hugh Fastolf, sheriff of London, should be removed from their offices for all days, because they were accomplices to the said Sir Nicholas <...> the aforesaid points and others.

11.

Also the aforesaid suppliants show how it was ordained by the statute in a parliament held at Westminster in the fifth year of the king, our said lord who now is, that no tun of the better wine of Gascony, of Oseye, or of Spain should be sold at a higher price than 100s., and other tuns of common wine of the same countries for a lesser price, according to the value, like for seven marks, six and a half marks, and six marks, and the tun of better wine of the Rochelle for six marks, and the tun of other such win of lesser price, according to the value, like for five and a half marks, five marks, four and a half marks, and four marks, and pipes and other vessels of lesser quantity according to the quantity of the same wines, should be sold at the said prices, proportionate to the tuns, as plainly appears by the said statute. All the mayors and sheriffs who have been in London since <...> the said statute <...> suffered all the vendors of wine to sell to the contrary of that statute, conealing the profit to the King from the forfeitures, to the great damage of all the lords and the common people through all the realm. So may it please your most discrete and just lords to consider the points and matters expressed above and ordain the remedy that thereof pertains <...> according to the laws of England, and that the said statute should be renewed in this present parliament, for God and as a work of charity.

## 7m) The Leathersellers and Whittawyers' Petition

Language(s): Anglo-Norman, Latin

Source: TNA, SC 8/21/1001B

Manuscript: 32.7cm x 48.8cm [29.2cm x 44.7cm]. Condition good; some substantial fading obscuring parts of the text; small horizontal tear in the middle of the manuscript obscuring some words.

### Text

1.

A nostre tresexcellent & tresredoutes *seignour* le Roy et as tresnobles & sages *seignours* de ceste present parlement.

Monstrent l<...> <...>t & *lour* pleinent les bones gentz lieges nostre dit *seignour* le Roy des mestiers de Lethersellers & Whyttawyers de la Cite de londres vers *seignour* Nichol Brembre chiualer *que* par la ou Johan Norhampton' estoit maire en la dite Cite de londres en lan nostre *seignour* le Roy qorest qui dieux garde sisme,<sup>47</sup> le dit Johan Norhampton encontre le feste de seint Edward<sup>48</sup> <...> soun mairautee bien p's accomplices cestassauoir lan nostre dit *seignour* le Roy sepitsme<sup>49</sup> fist garnir les bones gentz franks de meisme la Cite solonc la f<ranchise &> vsage dicelle, destre a la Guyhald du dite Cite en meisme le feste de Seint Edward *pour* y eslire adonques vn maire *pour* auoir la gouvernaille de m<eis>me la Cite desouth nostre dit *seignour* le Roy *pour* lan ensuiyant; la le dit *seignour* Nichol oue ses accomplices & adherentz accrochant *sur* luy roial poair & ymaginant *pour* destruyre les bones <...> & gouernance de mesme la Cite, le iour de Seint Edward susdit ordeigna certains malfesours a graunt nombre queux furent de son assent armez a feer de guerre *pour* estre a la dite Guyhald *pour* eslire le dit *seignour* Nichol en maire du dite ^Cite^ et issint forciblement les ditz malfesours eslirent le dit *seignour* Nichol en maire de meisme la citee *pour* lan queux ensuyant sanz la commune vois des bones gentz du dite Cite encontre la corone nostre dit *seignour* le Roy & la ffranchise de meisme la Cite. Et estre ceo as<c>uns qils furent a la dite Guyhall de lassent du dit *seignour* Nichol *pour* la cause susdite bateront greuousement treteront & defouleront certaines bones gentz en franchisez en la dite C<ite> venuz a la dite Guyhald par voie de paix *pour* duement auoir fait la eleccioun de *lour* maire come ils soleient faire deuant; issint *que* les dites bon<es> {gentz} *pour* <dou>te de mort noeseront pas demourer

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<sup>47</sup> i.e. 1382-83.

<sup>48</sup> i.e. 13th of October.

<sup>49</sup> i.e. 1383-84.



sur lour eleccioun <...> dilloeqes en saluacion de lour <v>ies a tresgraunt affray de meismes les bons gentz. Que please a nostre dit tresexcellent & tresredoute seignour le Roy & as tresnobles & sages seignours de ceste present parlement de ceste horrible matiere ordeigner & faire due remedie solon<c> ley & justice pour dieu & oeure de charite.

2.

<I>tem <...> lour p<lei>nont vers <le d>it seignour Nicholl Brembre de ceo que le dit seignour Nichol oue lassent de les autres ses accomplices accrocha sur luy roial poair en ceo qil venoit en Chepe le dit an septisme oue graunt multitude des gentz armez a f<ee>r de guerre a graunt doute & affrai de toutz les bones gentz du dite Cite et sur ceo sanz <...> plusours <ge>ntz des ditz mestiers & les emprisona en moult graunt duresse a graunt doute de lour vies & a grauntz perde de lour biens <& da>mage de lour corps san<z> les soeffrer venir pour estere a lour response. Et issint le dit seignour Nichol & les autres accrocheront sur eux roial poair encontre la corone nostre <dit> seignour le Roy. Par quoy please a nostre dit tresexcellent & tresredoutes seignour le Roy & as tresnobles & sages seignours de ceste present parlement de ceste horrible chose faite encontre <la co>rone & la ley de la terre faire due remedie solonc ceo qils ount deseruy pour lamour de dieu & en oeure de charite.

3.

Item lour pl<einant> <...> auantditz compleinantz vers le dit seignour Nichol Brembre de ceo que par la ou les bones gentz de sa dite Cite par vertue de lour franchises & chartres a eux graunt<ez> & confermez par nostre dit seignour le Roy & ses tresnobles progenitours q<ue>ux d<ieu>x assoille soleient chescun an le iour Seint Edward par commune vois des bons gentz enfranchises en la dite Cite peisiblement sanz destourbances faire vs<...> avoir lour frank elecc<ioun> dun mair qui lour sembloit distret sufficeant & able pour auoir la garde & gouvernaille d<e> dite Cite desouth nostre seignour le Roy pour lan ensuyant l<a> le dit seignour Nichol oue les autres ses accomplices & a<d>herentz accrochant sur luy roial poair pour maintegner & continuer les malices appensez ymaginant la distruccioun des bones vsages profitables gouvernances & reules de la dite Citee encontre la paix & le corone nostre dit seignour <le> Roy & l<e> franchise de la dite cite, le iour de <sei>nt <Ed>ward lan du regne nostre dit seignour le Roy qorest septisme fist

ass<sup>e</sup>mbles a la Guyhald de la dite Cite *graunt* <mul>titude des gentz armez a feer de guerre sibien foreyns *pour* la gre<yndre par>tie *persones* <...> autres de soun assent. Et illoeqes oue g<rau>nt <...> *rumour* & horrible noise forciblement eslirent l<e dit> *seignour* Nichol en m<eir> du dite Citee *pour* le s<...> an a *graunt* doute & affray de toutz les bons gentz de meisme la C<ite> issint qils noeseront *pour* paour de mort approcher a la dite G<uyh>ald *pour* vser *lour* franc el<ecciou>n auantdite. Et p<ar> quoi please a treshaut roiale mages<tee> nostre dit *seignour* le Roy & as tresnobles & sages *seignours* de ceste present parlement <...> <...>oir due remed<ie> & <...>cement solonc ceo *que* le cas require *pour* dieu & en oeuvre de <char>ite.

4.

Item les au<antdi>tz compl<ai>nant *lour* plainant vers le dit *seignour* Nichol {Brembre} de ceo *que* le dit *seignour* N<ic>hol oue lassent de les autres ses acomplices accrocha {sur} <lu>y roial poair conspirerent & ymagerent *pour* auoir <my>s a la mort plusours bones & l<oi>alx g<en>tz de la dite Citee de londres. Et *pour* ceo qils ne *pourroient* c<ele> chose faire sanz ascune cause ils feyneront & faux ymagin<erant> & co<...>ent d<en>diter les dites bones gentz de felonie & <...> *pour* les charter des queux enquestes les gentz furent de *lour* affinite & assent et furent auxi de male fame come ouertement *serra proeue* si les enditem<ents feu>ssent deua<nt> vous. Par quoi please <a> tresgracious <...>esse nostre d<it> *seignour* le Roy & as tresnobles & sages *seignours* de ceste present parlement de charger Nichol Exton ore maire de la dite Cite d<e> faire venir deuant vous <tous qu>els end<item>entz accusanentz & appealz queux sont en sa garde et sur <...> de ceste horrible fait due remedie faire solonc ley & droit *pour* dieu & <en> oeuvre de charite.

5.

Item *lour* plainant les <su>sdite compleinantz vers le dit *seignour* N<i>chol Brembre <de c>eo *que* le dit *seignour* Nichol oue lassent de les autres ses acomplices accrocha sur luy roial poair e<n> ceo quils fu<rent> *grantez* assemblees en diuerses lieuz de la dite Cite par diuerses foitz des diuerses gentz de meisme la Citee, & la conspireront <ent>re eux com<ent> ils *pourroient* susteigner & <mein>tener *lour* fauxines *que* eux adeuant comen<cez> *pour* destr<uire ceux> qui

<ore> pleinont & toutz les autres qui furent enditez par leur f<au>x ymaginacioun & conspiracie et sur ceo <...> ordeingee par leur commune assent de prendre de les a<uantd>itz gentz de leur affinitee & assent a leur fauxines susteigner vne g<raun>t somme de <...> gentz de leur assent a eux graunteront graunt <...> les queux le dit seignour Nichol & les autres ses acomplices torce<nouse> <...> <tor>cenouse ount c<ontin>uez de <temps> que Johan Norhampton <...> fuit oustez de son office de mair<autee> et le dit seignour Nichol <Brem>bre eslutz parle manere <co>me deuant est dit tanque en cea et vnquore est continuez par le dit Nichol Exton' ore maire du dite Citee <&> par les <...> de son assent<...> graunt damage & empouericement des bones gent<z> de meisme la Citee. Par quoi please a nostre dit tresexcellent seignour le Roy & as tresnobles & sages seignours de ceste present parlement de graunter & ordeigner que ceste <...>cesse <...> outrement <...> au profit du commune poeple de la dite <Citee> <...> que les fauxes conspiracies & ymaginacions susdites furent punyz solonc leur desert come ley & droit demande<z> pour { dieu } & en oeure de charite.

6.

Item les auantditz compleinantz supplient a nostre dit tresexcellent & tresredoute seignour le Roy & as tresnobles & sages seignours du ceste present parlement que lestatut fait au parlement tenuz <a> Westm' lan du regne nostre dit seignour le Roy qorest sisme que <comen>ce en ceste paroles Item ordinatum est & statutum quod nec in Ciuitate london' nec in aliis Ciuitatibus Burgis villis vel portibus maris pro totum regnum predictum aliquis <vit>allarius officium iudiciale de cetero habeat exerceat neque ocupet quouismodo nisi in villis vbi alia persona sufficiens <a>d huius statum habendum reperiri non poterit dum tamen idem iudex pro tempore quo in officio illo steterit ab exercicio vitallarii sub pena forisfacture victualium suorum sic venditorum penitus cesset & se abstineat pro se & suis omino ab eodem, le contraire de quel estatut est vse en la dite Cite a graunt damage du poeple. Qe plese <que> mesme <l>estatut soit tenuz & gardez sibien en meisme la Cite come aillours & maintenant mys en execucioun au profit du poeple pour dieu & en oeure de charite.

7.

Item monstrent les ditz compleinantz coment le dit *seignour* Nichol Brembre & les autres de son assent apres ceo qils auoient enditez *graunt* nombre des bones gentz de la dite cite de londres *par* lour fauxes ymaginaciouns & conspiracie come dit est *par* deuant, suyeront a nostre dit tresredoutes *seignour* le Roy qorest *pour* vne chartre de pardon la quele chartre <a eu>x fait *grautes* come *par* la copie dycelle a ceste bille queux pleynement appiest,<sup>50</sup> la ou ceux qui furent ens<y> enditez {navoient mye} <cognis>cance de la chartre auantdite. *Par* quoy please a nostre dit tresexcellent & tresredoutes *seignour* le Roy & as tresnobles & sages *seignours* de ceste present parlement de celle sub<tile> fauxine ymagine faire solonc loy & droit come bone vous semblera en destruccioun des tielx tortz & fauxines de ce e<n> auant *pour* dieu & en oeuvre de charite.

8.

Item monstrent les avantditz <com>pleinantz *que* come il y a<...>oit vn liuere appelle le Jubilee en la Chambre de la dite Guyhald de londres deniz quel liuere plusours & *pour* la greindre partie des toutz les bons articles custumes & vsages ordeignez & establiz deuant ces heures *par* <...> & discrecioun touchant la bone reule & gouvernaille du dite Cite feurent compiles & comprises al obseruance des queux articles custumes & vsages come ceux que feurent loialx droitourels & profitables les mair Recordour Aldermannes & les bons comunes de <meis>me la Cit<e> <e>stoient iurrez & <sole>ient estre du temps en temps *pour* les ex<...> garder, la le dit liuere puis le feste de pasque darrein passez<sup>51</sup> *par* de dit Nichol Exton' ore maire du dite Citee & ses acomplices est ars <...> mount & degastez a *graunt* defesance & damage en temps a venir de la bone reule & vs<...> de la Cite auantdite.

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<sup>50</sup> This charter may survive; see Appendix 10 for the possible text.

<sup>51</sup> Easter fell on the 7th of April in 1387.

## Translation

1.

To our most excellent and most dread lord the king, and to the most noble and wise lords of this present parliament, show <...> and their complaint, the good men, lieges of our said lord the king, of the mysteries of Leathersellers and Whittawyers of the city of London against Sir Nicholas Brembre, knight, how that John Northampton was mayor in the said city of London in the sixth year of our lord the present king – whom God save – {and} the said John Northampton, before the feast of Saint Edward <...> his mayoralty good <...> accomplices, namely in the seventh year of our said lord the king warned the good free men of the same city, according to the franchise and practice of the same, to be at the Guildhall of the said city on the same feast of Saint Edward in order to elect then a mayor to have the governance of the same city under our said lord the king for the following year; there, the said Sir Nicholas, with his accomplices and adherents, accroaching to themselves royal power and scheming to destroy the good <...> and governance of the same city, the said day of Saint Edward, arranged certain malefactors to a great number – the which were of his party {and} armed, to the fear of war – to be at the said Guildhall in order to elect the said Sir Nicholas as mayor of the city. And thus forcibly the said malefactors elected the said Sir Nicholas as mayor of the said city, against the crown of our said lord the king and the franchise of the same city. And, furthermore, some who were at the said Guildhall of the party of the said Nicholas, for the abovesaid cause, grievously beat, dragged, and stamped on certain good men of the franchise of the said city {who} came to the said Guildhall with voice of peace to have duly made the election of their mayor, as they had done before; in that way the said good men, for fear of death, would not stay at their election <...> there in saving of their lives, to the very great fear of the same good men. So may it please our said most excellent and most dread lord the king and the most noble and wise lords of this present parliament, concerning this horrible matter to ordain and make sue remedy, according to the law and justice, for God and as a work of charity.

2.

Also <...> their complaint against the said Sir Nicholas thereof: that the said Sir Nicholas, with the agreement of the others, his accomplices, accroached to himself

royal power in that he came into Cheapside in the said seventh year with a great multitude of armed men, to the fear of war {and} to the great fear and dread of all the good men of the said city; and upon that, without <...> many men of the said mysteries, and imprisoned them to the very great harshness, to the great fear for their lives and great loss of their goods and damage to their bodies without the permit to come to make their response. And in this way the said Sir Nicholas and the others accroached to themselves royal power against the crown of our said lord the king. And so may it please our said most excellent and most dread lord the king and the most noble and wise lords of this present parliament, of this horrible thing made against the crown and the law of the land, to make due remedy according to that which they have deserved, for the love of God and as a work of charity.

3.

Also their complaint <...> aforesaid complainants against the said Sir Nicholas Brembre thereof: that, how that the good men of the said city, by virtue of their franchises and charters granted to them and confirmed by our said lord the king and his most noble forebears – whom God save – should each year on the day of Saint Edward by the common voice of the good men enfranchised in the said city, peaceably without disturbances, to make <...> have their free election of a mayor who seemed sufficient and able to have the keeping and governance of the said city under our lord the king for the following year. {However} the said Sir Nicholas with the others, his accomplices and adherents, accroaching to himself royal power, in order to maintain and continue the planned wrongs, scheming towards the destruction of the good practices, profitable governance, and rules of the said city, against the peace and the crown of our said lord the king and the franchise of the said city, the day of Saint Edward the king in the seventh year of the reign of our present king, assembled in the Guildhall of the said city, to the fear of war, a great multitude of armed men foreigners as well as for the greater part people <...> others of his party. And there, with great <...> rumour and horrible noise, they forcibly elected the said Sir Nicholas as mayor of the said city for the <...> year, to the great fear and dread of all the good men of the said city, so that they would not, for fear of death, approach the said Guildhall in order to practice their aforesaid free election. And so may it please the most high royal majesty, our said lord the king, and the most noble

and wise lords of this present parliament <...> have due remedy <...> according to that which the case requires, for God and as a work of charity.

4.

Also, the aforesaid complainants, their plaint {make} against the said Sir Nicholas Brembre thereof: that the said Sir Nicholas, with the assent of the others, his accomplices, accroached to him royal power, conspiring and scheming in order to have put to death many good and lawful men of the said city of London. And, because they could not do that thing without some cause, they dissembled and falsely schemed <...> to indict the said good men of felony and <...> for the charter, of which inquests the men were of their accord and party, and were also of bad fame as openly will be proved if the indictments were before you. So may it please our most gracious <...> our said lord the king and the most noble and wise lords of this present parliament to charge Nicholas Exton, now mayor of the said city, to make come before you all the indictments, accusations, and appeals which are in his keeping and upon <...> concerning this wrong made, to make due remedy according to the law and right, for God and as a work of charity.

5.

Also, their plaint, the aforesaid complainants {make} against the said Sir Nicholas Brembre thereof: that the said Sir Nicholas, with the agreement of the others, his accomplices, accroached to himself royal power in that they made large assemblies in various parts of the said city, at various times, of various men of the said city, and there they conspired amongst themselves how they could sustain and maintain their wrongs that they before began in order to destroy those who complain now and all the others who were indicted by their false scheming and conspiracy. And upon that <...> ordained by their common agreement to take from the aforesaid men of their accord and party to sustain their wrongs, a great sum of <...> men of their party to them granted a great <...> the which the said Sir Nicholas and the others his accomplices wrongful <...> wrongful has continued from the time that John Northampton <...> was ousted from his office of the mayoralty and the said Sir Nicholas Brembre {was} elected by the manner as is said above, until now, and still is continued by the said Nicholas Exton, now mayor of the said city. And by the <...> of his party <...> great damage and impoverishment to the good men of the same

city. So may it please our said parliament to grant and ordain that this <...> to the profit of the common people of the said city <...> that the abovesaid false conspiracies and schemes should be punished according to their desert, as the law and right demands, for God and as a work of charity.

6.

Also the aforesaid complainants pray to our said most excellent and most dread lord the king and to the most noble and wise lords of this present parliament concerning the statute made at the parliament held at Westminster in the sixth year of the reign of our said lord the king, that begins in these words: “Also it is ordained and established that neither in the city of London nor in other cities, boroughs, villages or ports of the sea, throughout all the aforesaid kingdom, may any victualler henceforth hold, practice, or occupy judicial office in any way, except in villages where some qualified person to hold this position cannot be found, provided that the same judge, for the time that he remains in that office, utterly ceases from the practice of a victualler upon the penalty of forfeiture of their victuals sold in such a way, and that he abstains, for him and all his, from the same”, the contrary of which statute is practised in said city to the great damage of the people. So may it please that the same statute be held and kept as well in the same city as elsewhere, and forthwith put into execution to the profit of the people, for God and as a work of charity.

7.

Also, the said complainants show how the said Sir Nicholas Brembre, and the others of his party, after they had indicted a great number of good men of the said city of London by their false scheming and conspiracy, as it said before, they sued to our said most dread lord the present king for a charter of pardon, the which charter was granted to them, as plainly appears by the copy of the same {attached} to this bill; but those who were indicted did not have knowledge of the aforesaid charter. So may it please our said most excellent and most dread lord the king and the most noble and wise lords of this present parliament of this subtle wrong, to act according to the law and right, as seems good to you, to the destruction of many falsenesses and wrongs henceforth, for God and as a work of charity.



8.

Also the aforesaid complainants show how there <...> a book called the Jubilee in the chamber of the said Guildhall of London, within which book many, and for the greater part of all, the good articles, customs, and practices ordained and established before these times by <...> and discretion touching the good rule and governance of the said city were compiled and contained, to the observance of which articles, customs, and practices to those who were lawful, righteous and profitable, the mayor, recorder, aldermen and the good commons of the same city were sworn, and were accustomed to be from time to time for the <...> to keep; {but} the said book after the feast of Easter last passed is burnt by the said Nicholas Exton, now mayor of the said city and his accomplices <...> and disgust, to the great defiance of damage in times to come, of the good rule and <...> of the aforesaid city.

## 7n) The Tailors' Petition

Language(s): Latin, Anglo-Norman

Source: TNA, C 49/10/3

Manuscript: 38.9cm x 12.7cm [35.5cm x 8cm]. Condition excellent.

References: Transcribed and translated in I. S. Leadam and J. F. Baldwin, *Select Cases Before the King's Council, 1243-1482* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918), pp. 74-76.

### Text

1.

Item les ditz suppliantz soy pleignent vers Nichol Brembre de ceo qil ouesque les autres ses accomplices accrocha sur luy roiale poair de ceo que par la ou vne chartre par le progenitour nostre seignour le Roy feust grante a le mestier de Taillours de londres com par le copie de mesme la chartre pleinement fait mencioun la quele copie si ensuit Edwardus dei gracia Rex angl' & ffranc' & dominus hibern' Omnibus ad quos presentes littere peruenerint salutem. Inspeximus litteres patentes quas nos nuper sub sigillo nostro quo tunc vtebamur in Angl' fieri fecimus in hec verba. Edwardus dei gracia Rex angl' dominus hibern' & dux aquitan' Omnibus ad quos presentes littere peruenerint salutem. Supplicarunt nobis cissores & armurarii linearum armaturarum Ciuitatis nostre London' per petitionem suam coram nobis & consilio nostre in presenti parlamento nostro exhibitam quod cum ipsi & antecessores sui de eisdem mesteris in Ciuitate predicta semper hactenus a tempore quo non extat memoria Gildam suam infra eandem Ciuitatem semel in anno habere & tenere & in eadem Gilda mesteras suas regulare & statum seruientum suorum de eisdem in mesteris ordinare et defectus eorundem corrigere et emendare pro communi vtilitate tam hominum eiusdem Ciuitatis quam ad eandem confluencium consueuissent & iam per aliquod tempus omnes illi qui de mesteris illis se esse dixerint tam extranei quam alij shopas in Ciuitate predicta pro eorum voluntate ceperint & mesteris illis vsi fuerint per huius extraneos irregulatos & de eorum defectibus non correctos dampna quam plurima pluribus tam de Ciuitate illa quam aliis pluries euenerint in scandalum proborum hominum de eisdem mesteris velimus Gildam predictam approbare & eam hominibus de mesteris predictis in dicta Ciuitate commorantibus confirmare sibi & successoribus suis imperpetuum obtinendam Nos eorum supplicacioni in hac parte annuentes predictam Gildam tenore presentium acceptamus & approbamus. Volentes & concedentes pro nobis & heredibus nostris

*quod homines de mesteris predictis in Ciuitate predicta & successores sui Gildam suam semel in anno prout antiquitus fieri consuevit habere & tenere & in ea mesteras suas ordinare & regulare & defectus seruientum suorum predictorum per visum maioris Ciuitatis predictae qui pro tempore fuerit vel alicuius quem loco suo ad hoc deputauerit & per probiores & magis sufficientes homines de mesteris illis corrigere et emendare possint prout ad maiorem vtilitatem Communitatis populi nostri viderint faciendum. Et quod nullus infra libertatem Ciuitatis predictae mensam vel shopam de mesteris illis teneat nisi sit de libertate Ciuitatis illius Nec aliquis ad libertatem illam pro mesteris illis admittatur nisi per probos & legales homines de eisdem mesteris testificetur quod bonus fidelis & ydoneus sit pro eisdem. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westm' x die marcij anno regni nostro primo.<sup>52</sup> Nos autem tenorem litterarum nostrarum predictarum sub sigillo quo nunc vtimur in Angl' duximus exemplificandum. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud langle vj die ffebr' anno regni nostri Angl' quintodecimo regni vero nostri ffranc' secundo<sup>53</sup> la quele chartre le dit seignour Nichol Brembre prist hors del possession du dit mestier encontre la corone nostre seignour le Roy & vnqore detient la dite charte. Par quoy pleise a nostre tresexcellent & tresredoute seignour le Roy & as tresnobles seignours de cest present parlement de cest horrible trespas fait encontre la corone nostre seignour le Roy & la ley de terre faire due remedie en oeure de charite.*

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<sup>52</sup> i.e. 10th of March 1327.

<sup>53</sup> i.e. 6th of February 1341.

## Translation

1.

Also the said suppliants complain against Nicholas Brembre thereof: that he, with the others his accomplices, accroached to himself royal power in that a charter was granted by the forebear of our lord the king to the mystery of the Tailors of London as, by the copy of the same, the charter fully made mention; the which copy follows here: ‘Edward, by the grace of God King of England and France, and master of Ireland, to all whom the present letters will come, greeting. We have examined the letters patent which recently we – under our seal which was used at that time in England – caused to be made in these words: “Edward, by the grace of God King of England, master of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, to all whom the present letters will come, greeting. The Tailors and Armourers of the Linen-Armoury of our city of London, prayed publicly to us by means of their petition presented to us and to our council in our present parliament that, whereas hitherto they themselves and their predecessors of the same mysteries in the aforesaid city always, since time immemorial, had become accustomed to have and hold their guild within the same city once a year and, within the same guild, to regulate their mysteries and to set in order the condition of their servants in the same mysteries, and to correct and amend the failings of the same for the common good of the people of the same city as well as of those who flock together as part of the same {guild}. And now during some time all those – foreigners as well as others – who have declared themselves to be of those mysteries have willfully seized shops in the aforesaid city, and those mysteries have been practised by these disorderly foreigners; and by their uncorrected failings many financial losses have happened to many of the city as well as to others, to the scandal of the honest men of the same mysteries. We wish to commend the aforesaid guild and reassure the men of the aforesaid mysteries residing in the said city that they will be held to themselves and to their successors in perpetuity. We in this office, assenting to their supplication, accept and commend the aforesaid guild by the tenor of the present. Willing and conceding for us and our heirs that the men of the aforesaid mysteries in the aforesaid city and their successors – just as formerly has happened – have and hold their guild once in a year and within the same {guild}, to set in order and regulate their mysteries and correct and amend the failings of their aforesaid servants, by means of the sight of whoever was mayor of the aforesaid city

at the time – or some other who was deputed to his place for this {purpose} – and by means of the honest and most capable men of those mysteries, just as might have seemed to the greater good of the community of our people. And also that no-one should hold a counter or shop of those mysteries within the freedom of the aforesaid city, unless he should be of the freedom of that city. Nor should anyone be admitted to that freedom on behalf of those mysteries unless he should be testified to by the honest and lawful men of the same mysteries that he is good, loyal and qualified for the same. In witness of that thing we have caused to be made these, our letters patent. By the witness of me myself at Westminster on the tenth day of March in the first year of our reign.” We commanded also that the tenor of our aforesaid letters should be copied under the seal that now is used in England. In witness of that thing we have caused to be made these, our letters patent. By the witness of me myself at Langley<sup>54</sup> on the sixth day of February in the fifteenth year of our reign in England, truly the second of our reign in France.’ The which charter the said Sir Nicholas Brembre took outside of the possession of the said mystery, against the crown of our lord the king, and he still withholds the said charter. So may it please our most excellent and most dread lord the king and the most noble lords of this present parliament of this horrible trespass made against the crown of our lord the king and the law of the land to make due remedy, as a work of charity.

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<sup>54</sup> Leadam and Baldwin gloss ‘Langle’ as King’s Langley in Hertfordshire.

## 7o) The Anglo-Norman Mercers' Petition (Partial Transcription)

Language(s): Anglo-Norman, Latin

Source: TNA, SC 8/277/13829

Manuscript: 34.5cm x 24.1cm [31.2cm x 21.9cm] Condition very poor. Much of the text has faded beyond legibility, while there are also substantial blemishes and holes in the text. Parts of the left-hand side of the petition have also been lost. I include here a very fragmentary transcription of the petition; it is possible that someone with better Latin and French may be able to recreate more of the original text. In approaching this text, I have been aided by the catalogue record on the National Archives site. As this piece is so fragmentary, I do not include a translation.

### Text

1.

A tresexcellent <...> *seignour* le Roi <& as> *tresnobles seignours* <de> cest present parlement Suppliant *treshumblement* <...> les ge<ntz> <...> la merceree de la Citee de Londres come membre de mesme la Citee ce <...> *tresnoble seignour* & le <...> choses *par* loial gouernaunce de toute la commun <...>.

2.

<...> la principale *que* lestatut fait *par* nostre dit *tresredoute seignour* le Roi <au> parlement <...> a Westm' lan du <...> <re>gne sysme <...> tiele Item *ordinatum* est & *statutum* <quod> nec in <ciuitate Lon>don nec in aliis ciuitatibus Burgis Villis vel portubus maris <par> totum regnum p<redictum aliquis> vitallarius offi<cium> Judiciale decetero habeat excerceat neque occupet quouismodo nisi in villis <vbi alia persona sufficiens as huius statutum habendum> reperiri non poterit <dum tamen idem iudex pro tempore> quo in officio illo steterit ab exercicio <vita>llarii s<ub pena forisfacture victua>llium <suorum> sic venditorum penitus cesset & se abstineast *pro* se & suis omino ab eod<em> <...> londres come aillours <...> la roialme <...> force de <...> qil estoit *par* gran<...> de s<...> & ordeigne si profitablement come <...> <...>ussent estre gouerne<...> estre gouernours a graunde <...> entre nous & toute la Roialme

3.

Item p'<...>ment a mesme le parlement suisdit <...> vitaille sibien pess<...> douce puiſe paisiblement <...> a <...> la Citee & la <...> <...> sibien *par* foreyns come *par*

denizeins du dite Citee <...> vse deuant <...> & graunde profit del *commune* de <...>  
la Citee & le Roialme

4.

<Item> <..> celluy *que* ser<...> de mesme la Citee <...> descharge de mesme loffice  
<...> ensuiant <...> *gouvernaunce par vn mair* esteant en office de mairalte plus *que*  
<...> sonen Nichol Exton *par tiele continuaunce torts ma*<...> ad ore <...> *pro*<...> a  
graunde de <...> de nous <...> sil ne <...> *tresnobles loialx & sages*

5.

<...> soit endite<z> <...> apelles <...> verrai cause sibien de traison come dautre  
felonie & abette <.> *proc...* <...> *graunde destructioun* <...> de loialte. Qe plese a  
<n>*ostre dite seignour* le Roi dordeigner <...> Iuges de oyer <...> les enditements  
appelles <...>.

## Appendix 8 – The *Mercers’ Petition* and the *Embroiderers’ Petition* Side-by-Side

1. A tres excellent & tresgracious seignour nostre tresdoute seignour le Roy & as tresnobles & tressages *seignours* esteanz en ceste present parlement.  
 Suppliont treshumblement ses **poueres liges** les Brouderers **de sa Citee de londres come vn des membres de mesme la Citee** & se pleignont deuers monseignour Nicholl Brembre chualer de ceo *que* la ou del temps dount memoire ne court *par* vertue des diuises chartres *par* nostre dit seignour le Roy & ses nobles progenitours a la dite Citee *grantees* & confermez ad estee vsee en la dite Citee *que* **lelecion de lour maire deusse estre franchement fait chescun an le iour de saint Edward le Roy par bone & peisible aduys de les plus sages & loialx de mesme la citee**. La le dit monseignour Nicholl *par* assent des ses acomplices lan du regne nostre dit seignour le Roy septisme oue fort main & debat & *graut* multitude du poeple encontre la peas *par* auisement purvoiez feust fait maire du dite citee a *tresgraut* destruction des plusours bones liberteez franchises & custumes de mesme la Citee, encontre lour chartres auant ditz come ouertement est conuz. Qe plese a nostre dit seignour le Roy & les seignours auant ditz faire punir le dit monseignour Nicholl come celui *que* acrocha sur luy roial poair *pour* auentre & destruire les bones leyes & vsages auant ditz sanz assent de nostre dit seignour le Roy & <le> parlement pur dieu et en oeuere de charitee.
  2. Item les ditz suppliantz se pleignent deuers le dit monseignour Nicholl de ceo qil lan <au>ant ditz encontre la peas nostre dit seignour le Roy & sanz cause *pour* sustenir ses tortz & fauxteez acrochant a luy roial poair fist diuises armees en la dite citee *par* noet & *par* lour *par* fausement destruire les loialx liges nostre seignour le Roy du dite Citee et ascuns mist au mort ascuns
1. <T>o the moost noble & Worthiest Lordes moost ryghtful & wysest conseil to owre lige Lorde the Kyng, compleyne<n> if it lyke to yow **the folk of the mercerye of London, <as> a <me>mbre of the same citee**, of many wronges subtiles & also open oppressions ydo to hem by longe tyme here bifore passed.
  2. Of which oon was where **the eleccion of mair<altee> is to be to the fire men of the citee, bi gode & paisible auys, of the wysest & trewest, at o day in the yere frelich**, there nought withstondyng the same fredam or franchise, Nichol Brembre wyth his vpberers, *purposed* hym the yere next after John Northampton mair of the same citee, with stronge partye, as it is ful knowen, & though debate & stronger partye, ayeins the pees bifore *purueyde*, was chosen mair, in destruccion of many ryght.
  3. ffor in the same yere the forsaied Nichol with outen nede ayein the pees, made *dyuerse enarmynges* bi day & eke bi nyght, & destruyd the kynges trewe lyges, som with open slaughtre, some



**fauxement** emprisona & ascuns fist fuwyv hors du dite citee & plusieurs autres tortz & meschiefs fist **come ouertement** est conuz. Qe plese a nostre dit seignour le Roy & les seignours auctnditz ent ordeigner due punissement pur dieu & en oeure de charitee.

3.

Item les ditz suppliantz se pleignont deuers le dit monseigneur Nicholl de ceo qil lan du regne nostre dit seignour le Roy septisme encontre la franchise du dite citee & pur sustenir ses fauseteez fist **proclamer que nul** soit si hardy de venir a la Gyhall du dite citee **pour eslire le maire fors ceux qi feurent somoins, les queux feurent somoins par son assent** et auxi adonques proclamee que nul voisist en la dite citee arnee sur grief forfaiture le quel monseigneur Nicholl la noet deuant la iour del election du maire fist carier **graunt quantite darmure en la dite Gyhall oue quele sibien foreins come autres feurent arnee en la dite Gyhall lendemain pour la dite election faire, et certains embusshementz des gentz arnee feurent mys illeques encontre sa proclamation. Et quant les bones gentz de la dite citee la venoient pour la dite election faire** solonc le franchise d<e> la dite citee, les auctnditz gentz arnee sailleront hors sur les ditz bones gentz oue **graunt noyse criantz tuwez tuwez** hidousement **leur pursuiant** <z par>ount les ditz bones gentz **pour paair** de mort se fuwyrent & ascondirent en mesons & autres lieux secretz **come en terre de guerre**, et issint le mairtee du dite citee ad estee tenuz come **par conquest** & maistrie depuis le dit temps tanque encea. Qe plese a nostre dit seignour le Roy & les seignours auctnditz ent ordeigner due remede pur dieu & en oeure de charitee.

bi false emprisonementz, and some fledde the citee for feere, as it is openlich known.

4.

And so furthermore for to susteyne thise wronges & many othere, the next ye<r>e after the same Nichol ayeins the forsaide fredam & trewe *commes*, **did crye openlich that no man sholde come to chese her mair but such as were sompned, & tho that were sompned were of his ordynaunce & after his auys.** And in the nyght next after folwyng he did carye grete quantitee of armure to the Gyldehalle, with which as wel straungers of the contree as othere of with june were armed on the morwe, ayeins his owne proclamation that was such, that no man shulde be armed & certain busshmentz were laide that, when free men of the Citee come to chese her mair breken vp armed, cryng with loude voice sle, folwyng hem, wherthough the peple for feere fledde to houses & other <hidy>nges as in londe of werre, adradde to be ded in *comme*.

4. Item les ditz suppliantz se pleignent deuers le dit *monseigneur* Nicholl de ceo *que* a quel heure *que* aucun du dite citee *par* cause du *service* ou aucun autre lise comandement aprocha a aucun *seigneur* a q<sup>i</sup> le dit *monseigneur* Nicholl ne vorroit *que* sa fauxine feusse conuz maintenant chescun tiel home devoit estre *par* le dit *monseigneur* Nicholl empesche q<sup>il</sup> estoit faux a le conseil du dite Citee & ensy au Roy. Et si la fauxine du dit *monseigneur* Nicholl feusse contredit *par* nous Brouderers ou aucun autre mistier de la dite citee en *general* ou si aucun mistier sa dite mistier vorroit contrestee ou eux assembler *pour* leur necessitee ou *profit* come toutdys ad estee vsee, tantost ils deussent estre empeschez & enditeez q<sup>ils</sup> vorroient leur encontre la peas et plusours bones gentz de la dite citee ore sont enditeez & ouertement desclaundrez & tenuz disloiax & tretours a *nostre* dit *seigneur* le Roy. Qe plesse a *nostre* dit *seigneur* le Roy & les *seignours* auant ditz estre owel juge *que* les ditz suppliantz *pourroient* estre provez ou disprovez solonc la veritee de leur faitz et comander *que* les dites enditementz puissent estre mesmez deuant vous pur dieu & en oeuvre de charitee.
5. And thus yet hideward hath the mairaltee ben holden as it were of conquest or maistrye, & many other offices also. So that what man pryue or apert in special that he myght wyte, grocchyng playned or helde ayeins any of his wronges, or bi puttyng forth of whom so it were, were it neuer so vnprouable, were apeched, & it were displeyng to hym Nichol, anon was emprisoned. And though it were ayeins falshe of the leest officer that hym lust meynteigne, was holden vntrewe lige man to owre kyng for who reproned such an officer maynteigned bi hym, of wronge or elles, he forfeited ayeins hym Nichol, & he vnworthy as he saide, represented the kynges estat. Also if any man bi cause of seruyce or other feueful comaundement, approched a lorde, to which lord~~e~~ he Nichol dradde his falshe to be knowe to, anon was apeched that he was false to the conseil of the Citee, & so to the kyng.
6. And yif in general his falsenesse were ayeinsaide, as of vs togydre of the mercerye, or other crafts, or any conseil wolde haue taken to ayeinstande it, or as out of mynde hath be vsed, wolden compayne togydre how lawful so it were, for owre nede or profite, were anon apeched for arrysers ayeins the pees & falsly many of vs that yet stonden endited, and we ben openlich disclaundred, holden vntrewe & traitours to owre kyng, for the same Nichol sayd bifor mair, aldermen, & owre craft, bifor hem gadred in place of recorde, that xx or xxx of vs were worthy to be drawen & hanged. The which thyng lyke to yowre worthy lordship, by an euen juge to be proued or disproued, the whether that throwthe may shewe, for trouthe amonges vs, of fewe or elles no man many day dorst be shewed. And nought oonlich vnshewed or hidde it hath be by man now, but also of bifore tyme the moost profitable poyntes of trewe gouernance of the Citee, compiled togidre bi longe

labour of discrete & wyse men, wyth out conseilke of trewe men, for thei sholde nought be knowen ne contynued, in the tyme of Nichol Exton mair, outerliche were brent.

5. Item les ditz suppliantz se pleignent deuers le dit monseigneur Nicholl de ceo **quant** les ditz bones gentz **feurent desclaundrez** come deuant est dit le dit monseigneur Nicholl **Brenbre disoit** ouertement *que* si ascunz de eux lour vorroit **rendre coupable** a nostre dit seignour le Roy de fausetee, mesme nostre seignour le Roy lour ent serroit **grace** & a luy serroit bon seignour. Et si ascunz des ditz bones gentz qount estee & toutdys par la **grace** de dieu serroit loialx feusse si hardy de offerir la proeve pur sa loialtee, meintenat le dit monseigneur Nicholl acrochant a luy roial poar luy comanda a prison nenyee couvt & sanz response issint *que* ascuns murrirent en mesme la prison. Et iasoit *que* brief nostre dit seignour le Roy venoit au dit monseigneur Nicholl pour eniorer le dit enprisonnee en la Chauncellarie ensemblement oue la cause de sa detenue, il ceo faire ne voloit en nulle manere en graunt despit des roaix mandementz. Qe plese a nostre dit seignour le Roy & les seignours auantditz ordeigner punissement sur le dit monseigneur Nicholl come appent en ceo caas pour dieu & en oeure de charitee.

7. And so ferforth falsehede hath be vsed that oft tyme he Nichol Brenbre saide in sustenance of hys falskede, owre lige lordes wille was such, that neuer was such, as we suppose. He saide also whan he hadde disclaundred vs, which of vs wolde yelde hym false to his kyng, the kyng sholde do hym grace, cherise him & be good lord to hym. And if any of vs alle that wyth goddes help haue & shulle be founden trewe was so hardy to profre prouyng of hym self trewe, anon was comaunded to prisone as well bi the mair that now is as of hym Nichol Brenbre bifore.

8. A<n>d we haue be comaunded oft tyme vp owre ligeaunce to vnedeful & vneleuful dyuerse douynges, and also to wythdrawe vs, bi the same comaundement f<ro> thynges nedeful & lefful, as was shewed whan a compayne of gode women, there men dorst nought, traauilleden barfote to owre lige lorde, to seche grace of hym for trewe men as they supposed, for thanne were such proclamaciouns made that no man ne woman sholde approche owre lige lorde for sechyng of grace & ouermany othere comaundementz also, bifore & sithen bi suggestioun & informacioun of suche that wolde nought

her falsnesse had be knowen to owre lige lorde. And lordes by  
yowre leue, owre lyge lordes comaundement to symple &  
vnkomyng men is a gret thyng to ben vsed so fanulerlich, with  
outen nede, for they vnwyse to saue it, mowe lyghtly ther ayeins  
forfait.

9.

ffor thy graciouse lordes lyke it to yow to take hede in what manere  
& where owre lige lordes power hath ben mysused by the forsaide  
Nichol & his vpberers, for sithen these wronges bifore saide han ben  
vsed as accidental, or *comme* branches outward, it sheweth wel the  
rote of hem is a ragged subie<ct> or stok inward, that is the forsaide  
Brere or brenbre, the whiche *comme* wronge vses, & many other, if  
it lyke to yow, mowe be shewed & wel knowen bi an indifferent  
juge & mair of owre Citee, the which wyth yowre ryghtful lordeship  
ygraunted for moost pryncipal remedye, as goddes lawe & al resoun  
wole, that no domesman stonde togidre juge & partye, wronges  
sholle more openlich be knowe, & trouth dor apere. And ellis, as  
amonge vs, we konne nought wyte in what manere without a moch  
gretter disese, sith the gouernaunce of this Citee standeth as it is  
bifor saide & wole stande whil vittailers bi suffraunce presumen  
thilke states vpon hem, the which gouernaunce of bifor this tyme to  
moche folke yhidde & sheweth lym self now open whether it hath  
be a cause or bygynyng or dyuysioum in the Citee & after in the  
Rewme, or no.

10.

Wherfore for grettest nede as to yow moost worthy, moost ryghtful  
& wysest lordes & conseil to owre lige lorde the kyng, we biseche  
mekelich of yowre gra<ce> coreccioum of alle the wronges bifore  
sayde & that it lyke to yowre lordeship to be gracious menes to owre  
lyge lorde the kyng, that suche wronges be knowen to lym, & that

we mowe shewe vs & sith ben holden, suche trewe to hym, as we ben, & owe to ben.

11.

Also we **biseche** unto yowre gracious lordship **that if any of vs in special or general be apeched to owre lige lorde** or to his worthy conseil, bi comunyng with othere, or appochyng to owre kyng as wyth Brenbre or hys abettours with any wronge wytnesse beyng, as that it stode other wyse amonges vs here, than as it is now proued it hath ystonde, or any other wronge suggestioun, by which owre lige lorde hath ybe vnleeffullich enfourmed, that thanne yowre worshipful lordship be such, that we mowe come in answer **to excuse** vs. ffor we knowe wel as for by moche **the more partye of** vs and, as we hope **for alle**, alle suche wronges han **ben vnwytyng** to vs, or elles outerlich **ayeins** owre **wille**.

12.

And ryghtful lordes for oon the grettest remedye with othere forto ayeinstonde many of thilke diseses afore saide amonges vs, we prayen wyth mekenesse this specialich, that the statut ordeigned & made bi *parlement* holden at westmystre in the sexte yere of owre kyng now regnyng, mowe stonde in strengthe & be execut as wel here in london as elles where in the rewne, the which is this. Item ordinatum est & statutum *quod* nec in ciuitate Londoniorum nec in alys Ciuitatibus Burgis villis vel portubus maris *par totum regnum predictum*, aliquis vitallar officium iudiciale decetero *habeat* exerceat neque occupet quouis modo nisi in villis vbi alia persona sufficiens ad huius statum *habendum* repperiri non poterit *dum tamen* idem iudex *pro tempore* quo in officio illo steterit, ab exercicio vitallar<sup>ii</sup> sub pena forisfacture victualium suorum sic venditorum penitus cesset & se absteineat *pro se* & suis omnino ab eodem & c.

6.

Item suppliont & treshumblement **requeront** a nostre dit *seigneur* le Roy & les *seignours* auctorditz les *desseinditz* brouterers *que* sils ou ascun de eux **soient** ^ a vous ^ **empeschez** dascun tort ou fautesee *par* suggestioun dascuny qils puront estre *graciously* acceptez **de faire leur excusacioun** desicome ils *seront* trouez loialx a nostre dit seignour le Roy & la Citee auctorditz. Entendantz *tresgracious* *seignours* *que* les dites tortz & fauteseez *par* le dit monseignour Nicholl furent faitz en la dite Citee, **la plus grant partie** ou touz des ditz suppliants diceo **non sachantz ou encontre** leur voluntteez.

## Appendix 9 – Anti-Victualler Statute

Date: 24th October 1382

Language(s): Latin

Source: *Letter-Book H*, f. clviii<sup>v</sup>

See also: *CLBH*, p. 206; the statute is 6 Richard II, st. 1, cap. 9, see *Statutes*, II, 66

### Text

1.

<marginated>*quod nullus statum iudicium exercens sit vitellarius*<marginated>

2.

Item ordinatum est & statutum est *quod* nec in Ciuitate London' nec in aliis Ciuitatibus Burgis villis vel portubus maris *per totum regnum predictum* aliquis vitallarius officium iudiciale decetero *habeat exerceat neque occupet quouismodo* nisi in villis vbi alia *persona* sufficiens ad huiusmodi statum *habendum* reperiri non poterit. In quo tamen casu idem iudex *pro* tempore quo in officio illo steterit ab *excercio vitallarii* sub pena forisfacture victuallium suorum sic venditorum penitus cesset & se absteineat *per se & suis omino* ab eodem.

## Translation

1.

<marginated>That no-one exercising a judicial position should be a victualler<marginated>.

2.

Also it is ordained and established that neither in the city of London nor in other cities, boroughs, villages or ports of the sea, throughout all the aforesaid kingdom, may any victualler henceforth hold, practice, or occupy judicial office in any way, except in villages where some qualified person to hold this position cannot be found. Yet in which case, the same judge, for the time that he remains in that office, utterly ceases from the practice of a victualler upon the penalty of forfeiture of their victuals sold in such a way, and that he abstains, for him and all his, from the same.



# Manuscript Images

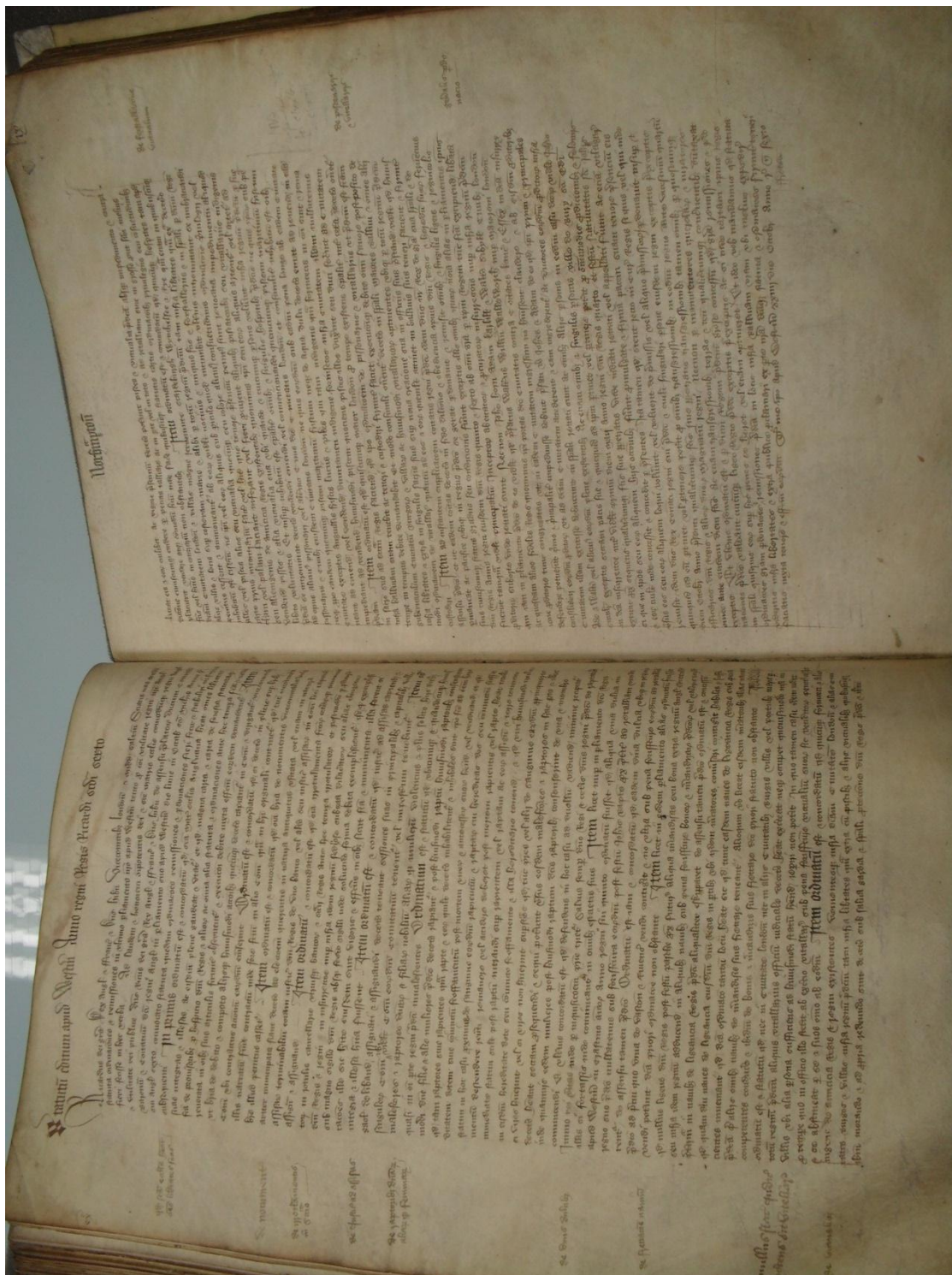


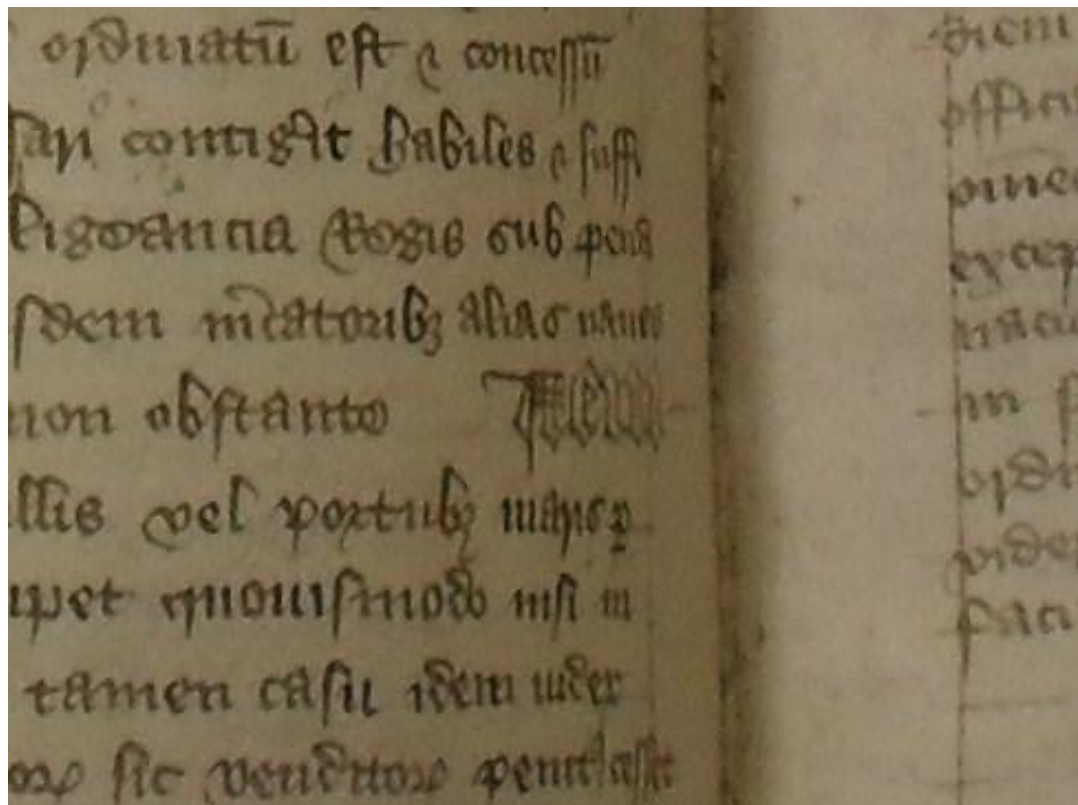
Fig. 12 – Letter-Book H, ff. clviii<sup>v</sup>-clix



*Nullus sit quidam  
 edens de victuallibus*

ptea q' alijs omibz nautis et mrandis suis forage teneant', alioquin ad licet esdem mrandis alio mudi  
 temperantes condurc et ibidem de bonis et mrandis suis forage deo p'p'io statuto non obstanto  
 ordinatu est et statutu qd nec in ciuitate london nec in alijs ciuitatibz burgis villis vel portibz nauticis  
 totu regnu p'dictu aliquis victuallarius officiu iudiciale debeat exercere nec occupet quousmodu nisi in  
 villis ubi alia p'sona sufficiens ad huiusmodi statum h'ndu recipi non potit in quo tamen casu idem uer  
 p tempore quo in officio illo fecit ab exercio victuallarij sub pena p'cessu victuallarij suoz sic venditor p'cedente  
 et se abstineat p' eo et suos emio ab eodem **Item ordinatu est** concordatu qd quicunq' fuerit alio  
 mudi de victuallibus alia et alio mudi mudi et mudi concordatu london et alio mudi

Fig. 13 – Letter-Book H, f. clviii<sup>v</sup> (the anti-victualler statute)



**Fig. 14 – Letter-Book H, f. clviiiiv (detail of a statute’s ‘Item’).** This image does not fully do justice to the distinctive appearance of this ‘Item’.

## Appendix 10 – Table of Correspondences among the 1388 Guild Petitions

	Group One										Group Two			Group Three			???
	PiP	FoP	DrP	PaP	ArP	stP	GoP	SaP	TaP		LeP	CuP		CoP	EmP	MeP	
A <sup>1</sup>							1	1	1								
A <sup>2</sup>																	
B <sup>1</sup>											(1)	(1)					
B <sup>2</sup>	1	(1)	(1)	1	1	1	2	2				(2)					
B <sup>3</sup>														1	1	(1, 2)	
C			(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(3)	(3)			(2)	(3)		(2)	(2)	(3)	
D											3						
E																	
B <sup>4</sup>														3	3	(4)	
F <sup>1</sup>	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	4			(4)	(4)		(4)	(4)	(5, 6)	
G											(7)	(7)		(5)	(5)	(7)	
H				4	4	4	5	5			(5)	(5)					
I <sup>1</sup>	3	3	(4)	5	5	5	6	6			6	6		6			
J <sup>1</sup>				6	6	6	7	7			(8)						
J <sup>2</sup>												(8)		(7)			
K															(4)	(5, 6)	
L															(5)	(7)	
M																8	
N																9	
O																10	
P															(6)	(11)	
P <sup>2</sup>																12	
Q												9					
R												10					
S												11					
P <sup>3</sup>																	1
T																	2
F <sup>2</sup>																	3
V																	4
W																	5

Table 4 – The Correspondences amongst the 1388 Guild Petition

## Notes to Table 4

Table 4 records the correspondences amongst the 1388 guild petitions. The top row abbreviates the names of the petitions and the left-hand column abbreviates specific accusations (to decode these see the following two pages). The numbers in the body of the table refer to the paragraph of each petition within which the accusation can be found. Where the petitions share a similar way of phrasing an accusation, these numbers appear unbracketed. Where these petitions appear to follow the same model but contain substantial alterations, these numbers appear bracketed. On several occasions two or more petitions share an accusation but do not contain any verbal overlaps (suggesting they were not following the same model). Where no verbal overlaps are present, these are listed in the table in distinct rows. Their shared content is indicated by their being listed under the same letter (so, for instance, petitions listed under A<sup>1</sup> and A<sup>2</sup> level the same accusation at Brembre but share no distinct phraseology).

## Key to Petitions

PiP – The *Pinners' Petition*

FoP – The *Founders' Petition*

DrP – The *Drapers' Petition*

PaP – The *Painters' Petition*

ArP – The *Armourers' Petition*

stP – The <...>steres' *Petition*

GoP – The *Goldsmiths' Petition*

SaP – The *Saddlers' Petition*

TaP – The *Tailors' Petition*

LeP – The *Leathersellers and Whittawyers' Petition*

CuP – The *Cutlers, Bowyers, Fletchers, Spurriers, and Bladesmiths' Petition*

CoP – The *Cordwainers' Petition*

EmP – The *Embroiderers' Petition*

MeP – The *Mercers' Petition*

ANMeP – The *Anglo-Norman Mercers' Petition*

## **Key to Accusations**

A<sup>1</sup> – On Brembre's seizing of the guild's charter

A<sup>2</sup> – On Brembre's seizing of the guild's charter

B<sup>1</sup> – On Brembre's election which was made against the franchise and custom of the city; his men dragged, assaulted and intimidated good men of the city

B<sup>2</sup> – On Brembre's election which was made contrary to the city's customs and charters; he summoned his supporters to the election; armed men were placed in the Guildhall

B<sup>3</sup> – On Brembre's election which was made contrary to the city's customs and charters; he used strong arm tactics

C – On Brembre's intimidatory actions in Cheapside

D – On Brembre's formation of armed forces in the city and his threatening people

B<sup>4</sup> – On Brembre's summoning only his supporters to the election; armed men were placed in the Guildhall; citizens were attacked

E – On Brembre being elected by horrible noise and violence

F<sup>1</sup> – On Brembre's production of biased indictments

G – On Brembre's suing for a charter of pardon, unbeknownst to those indicted

H – On Brembre's formation of assemblies and extraction of money to maintain his wrongs

I<sup>1</sup> – On the need to reinforce the statute forbidding victuallers from holding judicial office

J<sup>1</sup> – On Nicholas Exton's burning of the Jubilee Book

J<sup>2</sup> – On Nicholas Exton's burning of the Jubilee Book

K – On Brembre's impeachment of anyone opposed to him

L – On Brembre's encouraging people to admit their guilt, and commanding them to prison

M – On proclamations made forbidding anyone to approach the king; the king's name abused

N – On Brembre's nature as the 'briar' damaging civic life

O – On recent life in London (a summative paragraph)

I<sup>2</sup> – On the need to reinforce statute forbidding victuallers from holding judicial office

P – On the need to allow those impeached to defend themselves

- Q – On Exton's false election and the need to remove him from office
- R – On William Cheyne's and Hugh Fastolf's aiding of Brembre and the need to remove them from their offices
- S – On wine sellers trading contrary to a statute
- I<sup>3</sup> – On the need to reinforce statute forbidding victuallers from holding judicial office
- T – On the need to reinforce the statute permitting free trade in victuals
- U – On the need to ensure mayors should not hold two consecutive terms
- F<sup>2</sup> – On Brembre's production of biased indictments
- V – On the need to reinforce all statutes concerning victuals

## Appendix 11 – A document associated with the *Leathersellers and Whittawyers' Petition*

Date: ?1383-86, ?1388. The date is uncertain and depends what this text exactly is (see discussion below).

Language(s): Latin

Source: TNA SC 8/21/1001A

Manuscript: Very poor. This text survives as only a stub, and much of the text is missing. Due to the missing text, it is unclear what this document is. The Leathersellers and Whittawyers do state in their petition that Brembre sued to the king '*pour vne chartre de pardon la quele chartre <a eu>x fait grauntes come par la copie dycelle a ceste bille queux pleynement appiest*' (7m.8). This text may, therefore, be a copy of the charter of pardon which would have been issued between 1383 and 1386 and copied out by the Leathersellers and Whittawyers in 1388. But this remains speculative.

### Text

1.

Ricardus &c omnibus balliuis & fidelibus suis <...> amicitia & concordia inter ipsos ligeos nostros <...> *predicta* vnde quedam <...> *consilium* <...> *contra statutum nostram* & <...> eiusdem Ciuitatis exceptis illis qu<...> <...> ad se obediendi & ad pacem nostram <...> nos pertinet *pro omnimodis prodicionibus* & fel<oniis> <...> regiam magestatem infra Ciuitate *predicta* <...> indictari vel occasionari eadem de causa poterunt <...> *super premissis* & quolibet *premissorum* concedimus <...> In cuius &c *Teste* &c apud Westm' xxii die <...>.

## Translation

1.

Richard, etc., to all his bailiffs and faithful <...> friendship and concord between these our lieges <...> aforesaid thereof a certain <...> counsel <...> against our statute and <...> of this city, except those <...> to the obeying of this, and to our peace <...> belongs to us for all kinds of treasons and felonies <...> royal magesty between the aforesaid city <...> might be indicted or prosecuted for the same cause <...> we grant upon the above said and any part of the aforesaid <...> In which, etc., by the witness, etc., at Westminster on the 22nd day <...>



## Appendix 12 – Official Responses to John Constantyn's Execution

### 12a) Brembre's Petition

Date: The exact date is uncertain. It was evidently produced sometime between the execution of Constantyn on the 11th of February 1384 and the issuing of the royal writ on the 4th April (see appendix 11b)

Source: TNA, SC 8/183/9147

Language(s): Anglo-Norman

Manuscript: Condition very good; some blackening to right-hand margin obscuring some words.

### Text

1.

A nostre seignour tresredote seignour le Roi supplient voz liges Nichol Brembre mair Aldermans & Viscountes de vostre Citee de Loundres *que* please a vostre Roiale mageste & pour greindre <...> denforcier la gouvernaille de la dite Citee en temps auenir & de rebuker & esvaier touz conspiratours & confederatours des malueises conuenitcles & congregacions de aultres mesfesours par qoi ascune chose purroit sourdir encountre vostre pees de mesme la Citee ou de la franchise dicelle ou en les parties envirooun en temps <...> ratifier & confermer par voz lettres patentes desouth vostre graunt seal le record process & iugement qore tard estoit donee en la Guyhalle de vostre dite Citee sur Joh<n Costantyn> Cordewaner qestoit pris en alant conseillaunt confortant & fesaunt aultres gentz de clore lour shopes & de les exciter destre aherdauntz as malueysetees pourpose<e> en <le> graunt rumour affray turbacion & insurreccion pourposee felonousement & en partie comencee encountre vostre pees & la gouvernaille de la dite Citee, le joedy la vn<decimo> iour de feuer' darrein passee & estoit mesmes vn des primers *que* closa ses huys & ses shopes en Bogirowe & en seintlaurencelane donant as aultres ensam<ple> & fresshement sur ceo arraine & par tesmoignes iurez & examinez & par sa conussance par iugement mys ala mort & decolle grantant par vous & vos heirs *que* <nul> de vos ditz liges ne nul de lour heirs ne autre *personne queconques* estean partie as ditz iugement & execucion ne soient molesteez empescheez ne ent en autre manere greue par vous ou par vous heirs pur le dit iugement ou execucion dycelle. Et sur ceo commander voz honnurable lettres des voz tresgraciouses voluntees a vostre chauncellar.

## Translation

1.

To our lord, the most dread lord the king, pray your lieges Nicholas Brembre, mayor, the aldermen, and sheriffs of your city of London that it might please your royal majesty, and for the greater <...>, to enforce the governance of the city in times to come, and to rebuke and drive away all the conspirators and confederates of wicked conventicles and congregations of other malefactors, through which any thing could arise against your peace of the same city or of the franchise of the same or in the surrounding parts <...>, {and} to ratify and confirm by your letters patent under your great seal the record, process and judgement which recently was given in the Guildhall of your city upon John Constantyn, Cordwainer, who was taken in going about counselling, advising and making other men close their shops, and to incite them to be adherents to the purposed falsities, to the great rumour, commotion, disturbance and insurrection, feloniously devised, and in part commenced, against your peace and the governance of the said city on Thursday the 11th of February last passed. And the same was one of the first that closed their doors and their shops in Budge Row and in Saint Laurence's Lane, giving to others an example, and upon this {he was} immediately arraigned and by witnesses sworn and examined, and by his own acknowledgement, was by judgement put to death and beheaded. May you grant for you and your heirs that none of your said lieges nor their heirs or other persons whatsoever, being a party to the said judgement and execution, should be molested, impeached or in any other manner thereof be grieved by you or by your heirs as a consequence of the said judgement or the execution of the same. And upon this to entrust your honourable letters, of your most gracious will, to your chancellor.

## 12b) Royal Warrant

Date: 4th April 1384

Language(s): Anglo-Norman

Source: TNA, C 81/1341

Manuscript: 36.3cm x 14.3cm [29.4cm x 1.6cm]. Condition very good.

### Text

1.

<...> Nous vous envoions closee dedeinz cestes vne supplicacioun a nous baillee depar noz bien amez liges les meair Aldermans & viscountes de *nostre* Citee de loundres touchante ce qun Johan Constantyn Cordewaner y estoit nadgaires *par* iuggement decollez, et sumes enformez *que* le dit Juggement & l'execucion dycell se firent en seurtee de *nostre* paix & en distourbance del <...> & insurreciounz purposees & en partie comencees destre monstrees de fait en *nostre* dite Citee sicome en la dite supplicacion est contenuz plus aplein. Sur quoi nous nous<sup>1</sup> agreons bien *que* le dit Johan estoit ensi mort et volont *que* sur ce facez fere noz lettres souz *nostre* grant seal sur le purport de la supplicacion auant dite doun souz *nostre* signet a *nostre* Chastel de Berkhamstede le quart Jour daprill.

---

<sup>1</sup> The repetition of 'nous' appears in the manuscript.

## Translation

1.

We send to you enclosed with these a supplication delivered to us by our beloved good lieges, the mayor, aldermen and sheriffs of our city of London, touching upon one John Constantyn, Cordwainer, who was lately beheaded by judgement, and we are informed that the said judgement and the execution of the same were made to the guarantee of our peace and to the destruction of the <...> and the insurrection purposed, and in part begun to be declared to be made in our said city, just as it contained more fully in the said supplication. Upon that we fully agree that the said John was thus killed, and we will upon that that you cause to be made our letters under our great seal on the purport of the aforesaid supplications. Under our signet at our castle of Berkhamstead on the fourth day of April.

## 12c) Royal Ratification in *Letter-Book H*

Date: 4th April 1384

Language(s): Latin

Source: *Letter-Book H*, f. clxxiv<sup>v</sup>

References: *CLBH*, p. 231; *Memorials*, p. 482. An identical copy of this text appears on membrane 16 of the relevant Patent Roll: London, TNA, C 66/317. See *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Richard II, A. D. 1381-85* (London: Mackie, 1897), p. 391.

### Text

1.

<marginated>ratificacio execucionis iudicii pro morte johannis  
constantyn<marginated>

2.

Richardus dei gracie rex Anglie & ffrancie & duc hibernie omnibus balliuis & fidelibus suis ad quos presentes littre peruenerint salutem Supplicarunt nobis dilecti ligei nostri Nicholus Brembre maior ac vicecomites & aldermanius Ciuitatis nostre london' vt cum nuper imminente quadam magna turbacione populi nostri contra pacem nostram in ciuitate predicta quidam Johannes Constantyn Cordewaner eundo consulendo confortando & faciendo gentes dicte ciuitatis shopas suas claudere & iniquis propositis in rumore commocione turbacione & insurrectione ibidem felonice propositis & in parte die iouis vndecimo die ffebruarii proximo preteritio inceptis contra pacem nostram & sanam gubernacionem dicte Ciuitatis inherere excitando captus fuit vt vnus illorum qui primo shopas & fenestra sua clausit aliis prebendo exemplum & super hoc recenter arenatus & per testes iuratos & examinatos ac cognicionem suam iudicialitur morti commissus & decollatus extitit velimus iudicium in has parte redditum ac recordum & processum inde habita in Gildehalla nostra london' in exemplum roborandi extunc gubernacionem dicte Ciuitatis ac reprobandi & terrendi conspiratores & confederatores huiusmodi Conuenticulorum & congregacionum & omnes alios malefactores per quos quoque contra pacem nostram dicte Ciuitatis vel libertatis eiusdem aut in partibus circumvicinis imposterum oriri poterit ratificare & confirmare. Nos pro eo quod sumus informati quod iudicium predictum & execucio eiusdem pro securitate pacis nostre & destruccionis riote & insurreccionis propositarum & in parte inceptarum in ciuitate

*nostra predicta que ibidem de facta fuerunt ostense facta fuerunt execucionem dicti iudicii gratam habentes & acceptam iudicium predictum necnon recordum & processum inde habita vt predictum est pro nobis & heredibus nostris ratificamus & per presentes confirmamus nolentes quod aliquis predictorum maioris ^vicecomitatus^ & aldermannorum vel aliquis heredum suorum seu alia persona quecumques dictis iudicio & execucioni pars assistens occasione dicti iudicii ac execucionis eiusdem per nos vel heredes nostras molestentur inquietentur aliququaliter seu grauentur. In cuius rei testimonium has lettras nostras fieri fecimus patentes Teste me ipso apud Westm' quarto die aprilis anno regni nostri septimo.<sup>2</sup>*

*per lettram de signeto*

*martyn*

---

<sup>2</sup> i.e. 4th April 1384.

## Translation

1.

Ratification of the execution and judgement to death of John Constantyn.

2.

Richard, by the grace of God King of England and France, and Duke of Ireland, to all his bailiffs and faithful men to whom the present letter will come, greeting. Our beloved lieges, Nicholas Brembre, mayor, and the sheriffs and aldermen of our city of London beseech us concerning how recently in the aforesaid city, a certain John Constantyn, Cordwainer – threatening a certain great disturbance of our people, against our peace – going about advising, encouraging and making men of the said city close their shops and inciting {them} to partake in the wrongs put forward, to the rumour, commotion, disturbance, and insurrection feloniously devised and in part begun in that very place on Thursday, the 11th day of February last, against our peace and the sound governance of the said city, was seized as the one of them who first shut his shops and window, making an example to the others. And upon this he was arraigned and by witnesses sworn and examined, and by his own acknowledgement he was by judgement put to death and beheaded. We wish, on what appears in this case, to ratify and confirm the judgement, record, and process thereupon made in the Guildhall of our London, as an example of henceforth reinforce the governance of the said city and to condemn and deter the conspirators and confederators of these conventicles and congregations and all other malefactors through whom anything might arise against our peace of the said city and the liberties of the same, and also in neighbouring parts. Because we are informed that the aforesaid judgement and the execution of the same were made for the preservation of our peace and the destruction of riots and insurrections purposed and in part begun there in our aforesaid city, which were shown, {and} thinking that the execution and the said judgement {was} acceptable and pleasing, we ratify and confirm by the present for us and our heirs the said judgement and also the record and process made thereupon as is said, unwilling that any of the aforesaid mayor, sheriffs and aldermen, or any of their heirs, or whatever other people party to {or} assisting in the said judgement and execution, should be molested, impeached or in any way grieved by us and our heirs on account of the said judgements and

executions. In witness of which thing, we have caused to be made these our letters.

By the witness of me myself at Westminster on the fourth day of April in the seventh year of our reign.



## Appendix 13 – William Mayhew's Protest

Date: May 1384

Language(s): Latin

Source: London, LMA, *Plea and Memoranda Rolls*, Roll A27, Membrane 1.

References: *CPMR*, pp. 50-51.

### Text

1.

Decimo octauo die maij anno regni regis Ricardi secundi septimo<sup>1</sup> Willelmo Mayhew grocer allocutus fuit coram dicte maiore & aldermannis de eo quod ipse dixit quod iudicia quo dicti maior & aldermanni dederunt & fecerunt nec fuerunt bona & mala & quod Ciuitas London' male fuit regulata & etiam quod Johannes Costantyn Cordewaner qui nuper decollatus fuit in Chepe per insurrectione quam ipse & alij complices sui fecerunt in London' xi die ffebr' ultimo preterito in magnum affraimentum tocius Ciuitatis predicte & suburbiorum suis false & iniquis condampnatus fuit ad mortem per dictas maiorem & aldermannos &c qui quidem Willelmo cognouit eadem verba se dixisse & inde ponit se in gratiam curia &c. Et quia maior & aldermannus ausari voluerunt de iudicio reddendo idem Willelmo committatur prisone quousque ausari fuerunt &c. Postea xxvj die maij tunc proximo sequenti idem Willelmo ductus fuit coram eisdem maiore & aldermannis &c. Et pro eo quod dicta verba per eundem Willelmum sic vt predicitur dicta false & maliciose dicta fuerunt & in dedecus & obprobrium maioris aldermannorum & aliorum gubernatorem dicte Ciuitatis expresse sonabant et vt alij de consiliaribus verbis <...><sup>2</sup> assensu dictorum maioris & aldermannorum consider est prout in casu consimili pluris ante a secundum consuetudinem dicte Ciuitatis adiudicatur fuit quod idem Willelmo habeat imprisonment per vnum anum proximum post xvij die maij predicte & in fine dicti <...> in exitu suo a prisona faciat finem pro contemptu secundum ordinacionem maioris & aldermannorum qui pro tempore fuerunt nisi verbis se in graciam interim habere posset &c. attamen postea eadem die ex gracia dicti maioris & ad requisicionem plurimorum aldermannorum & aliorum proborum hominum idem Willelmo manucaptus est per Adam de Sancto juone & Henricus Perot quod ipse se bien & pacifice gerebat erga domini Regem & populum suum & omnes ministros dicte Ciuitatis & quod nulla talia verba vel eis consumlia

---

<sup>1</sup> i.e. 18th May 1384.

<sup>2</sup> A tear in the parchment obscures several words here.

*impostorem dicat sub pena xl librarum qua idem Willelmo concedit soluere camerario Ciuitatis predicte qui pro tempore sunt in casu quo in aliquo promissorum deliquerit & inde convincatur &c. Et ad premissa fideliter faciendam & conservandam & ad manucaptos suos predictos seruandum indemnas juratus est &c. Et vlans ex gracia dicti maioris soluit Ricardo Odyham camerario London' demi marc' de fines &c. Et sic conliberatus est &c.*

## Translation

1.

On the eighteenth day of May in the seventh year of the reign of King Richard the second, William Mayhew, Grocer, was charged before the said mayor and the aldermen thereof: that he said that the judgements which the said mayor and aldermen gave and made were bad and not good and that the city of London was badly ruled, and also that John Constantyn, Cordwainer – who recently was beheaded on Cheapside for the insurrection the he and his other accomplices made in London on the eleventh day of February last, to the great fear touching the aforesaid city and its suburbs – was falsely condemned to death by the said mayor and the aldermen, etc. The which William acknowledged he said the same words, and thereupon he put himself on the mercy of the court, etc. And because the mayor and aldermen wished to be advised concerning the rendering of a judgement, the same William was committed to prison until they were advised, etc. Afterwards, on the 26th day of May then following, the same William was led before the said mayor and aldermen, etc. And because the words said by the same William were – as is said above – falsely and maliciously said, and expressly resounded to the shame and disgrace of the mayor, aldermen and other governors of the said city, and so as to <...> by the agreement of the said mayor and aldermen it is considered and judged, as in many similar cases before, according to the custom of the said city, that the said William should have imprisonment for one year next after the aforesaid eighteenth day of May, and at the end of the said <...>, at his exit from the prison, he should make a fine for contempt, according to the ordinance of the mayor and aldermen who served for that time, unless he should have grace concerning these words in the meantime, etc. And yet afterwards, on the same day, by the grace of the said mayor and at the request of many aldermen and other good men, the same William was mainprised by Adam of Saint Ives and Henry Perot because he had carried himself well and peacefully towards the lord the king and to his people and to all the officers of the said city, and that he should not henceforth utter such words or similar, under the penalty of forty pounds, the which William agreed to pay to the chamber of the Guildhall of the aforesaid city in the event that he might fail of his promises in any way, and thereupon he was convicted. And he was sworn to faithfully make and preserve, and to save his aforesaid mainprisers. And by the grace of the said mayor,

he paid Richard Odyham in the Chamber of London half a mark as a fine, etc. And thus was he released, etc.

# Appendix 14 – Further Images from Letter-Book H

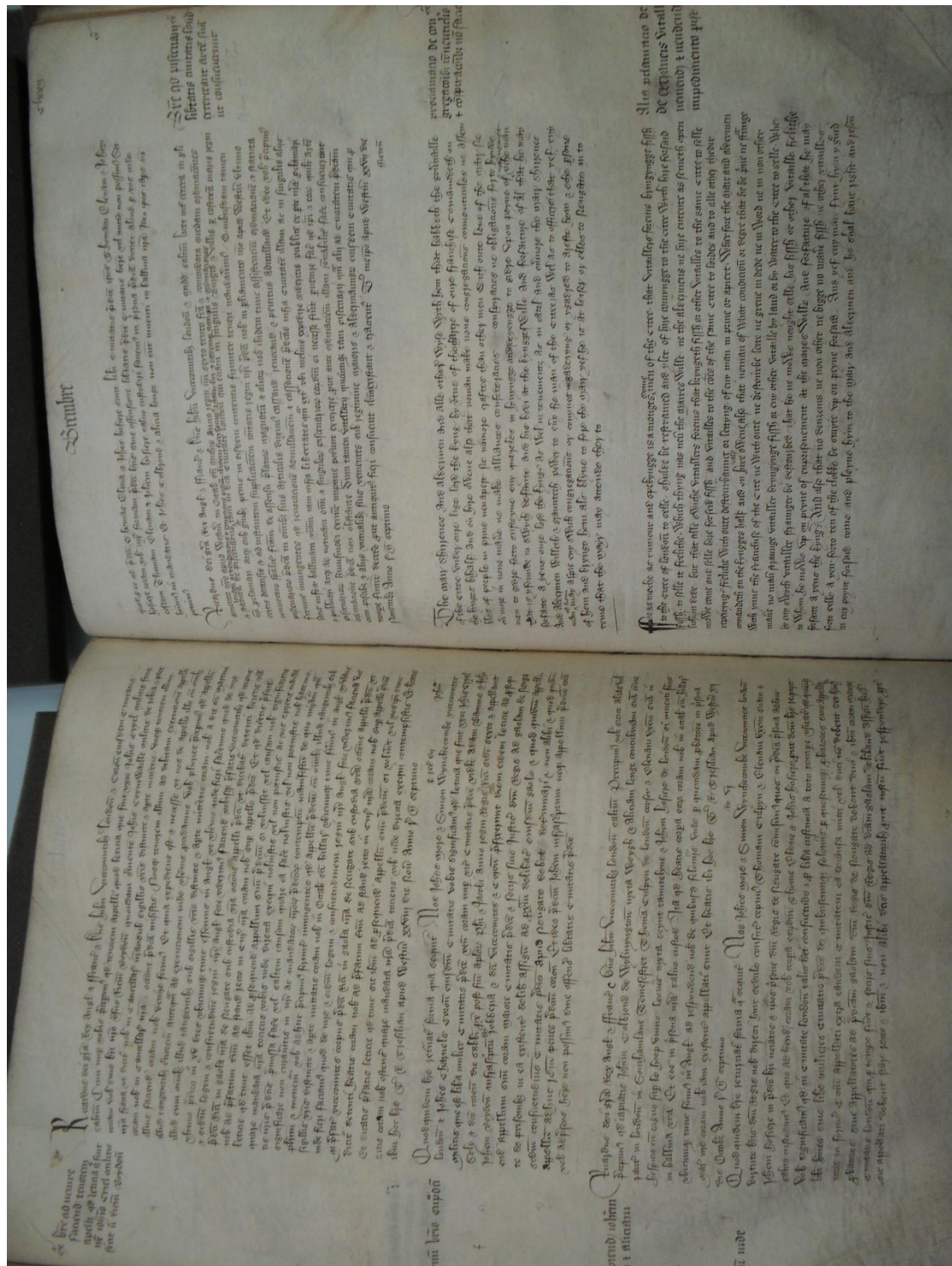


Fig. 15 – Letter-Book H, f. clxxi<sup>v</sup>-clxxii



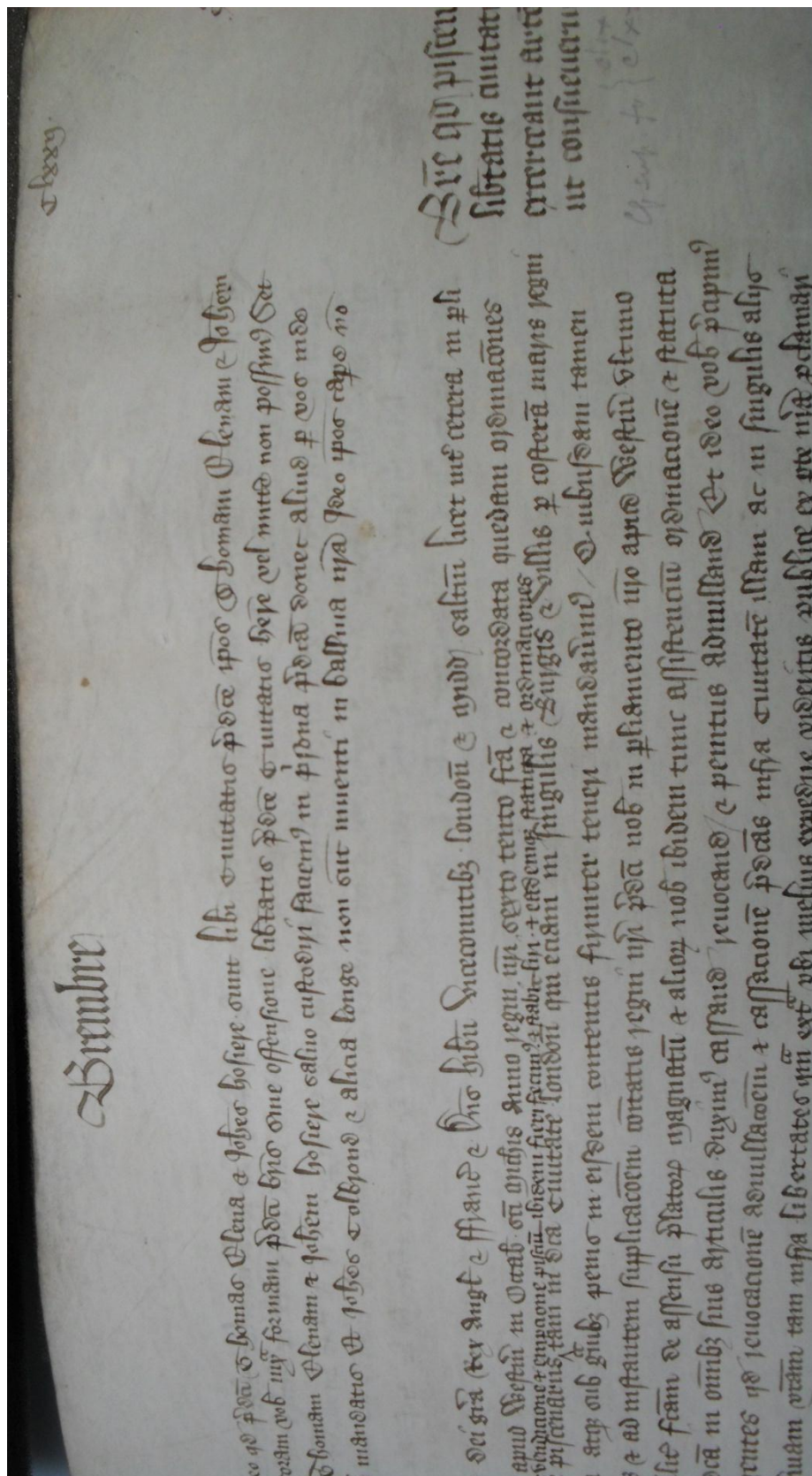


Fig. 16 – Letter-Book H, f. clxxii (detail of the mayoral surname headings)

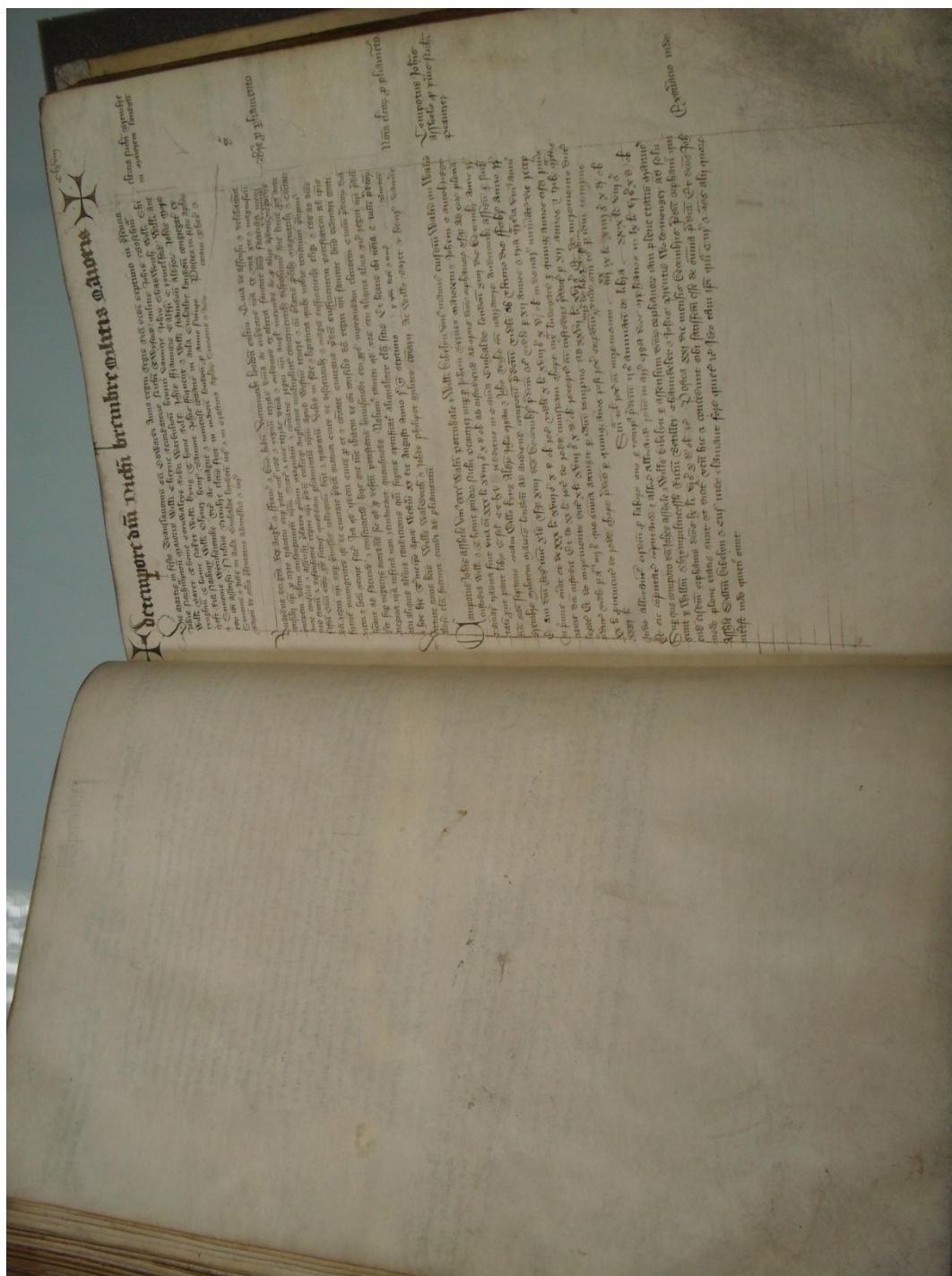


Fig. 17 – Letter-Book H, f. clxvii<sup>v</sup>-clxviii



Detempore dñi Michi breuiter multis & diuersis

Die martis in festo Translaconis s<sup>ci</sup> Edwardi anno regni Regis Ric<sup>i</sup> s<sup>edi</sup> septimo in p<sup>re</sup>sencia  
Johis p<sup>re</sup>sumpti<sup>on</sup>i<sup>is</sup> maioris Willelmi Wyford/ militis Johis Soseh<sup>am</sup>.  
Willelmi Saret & home cornwallie Robti Wardulston h<sup>er</sup>iti Samue Johis Chadworth Willelmi Schi  
ingh<sup>am</sup> & home Robet Willelmi Wyng & home Wolt Johis ffamers Galfr<sup>i</sup> & Wynestred Willelmi an  
h<sup>er</sup>it Ric<sup>i</sup> Norbury Willelmi Wyng & home Samue Johis ffyncey & Willelmi staudon alder<sup>man</sup> Johis Wyng  
& Snuons Wyndecombe Ric<sup>i</sup> de magne & unners<sup>e</sup> cordat<sup>us</sup> in aula Gubalde london congregat<sup>us</sup> ex  
eoz t<sup>em</sup>p<sup>or</sup>e assensu. Nichus Wyndecombe Ric<sup>i</sup> de magne & unners<sup>e</sup> cordat<sup>us</sup> in aula Gubalde london p<sup>re</sup>sens  
Snuons & Willelmi in aula Gubalde london un<sup>der</sup> & in crastino apud Snuons & Jude  
Sag<sup>on</sup> de octo p<sup>re</sup>sentat<sup>us</sup> admiss<sup>us</sup> & un<sup>der</sup>

Quandus dei gra rex angl & france & dñs hñdū Viacomutibz londū castū Quia de assensu & delibatione  
consilij nri p octo tractatu sup pace int nos & regnū tejjas dñia ac subditos nra ex una pte & magnificū  
pūpūem hñdū consanguineū nrm Stū & eius tejjas dñia & subditos ex altera fauente dño faciente medi  
ante consilio & assensu pñator pñm usqñatū & citatis regni nri angl inuendo ac p alijs apñus nēgōis  
nos statū & defensione regni nri pñā ecclieq; anglieane multipliciter conuenientibz dispoñim⁹ dñe hñe pñ ante  
fessū Omī cōp pñ futū quoddam plamentū nrm apud Westm pñibz usqñatibz & citate  
dñā regni nri sup pñmissō colloquū hñe & tractatū Nobis in fide & ligancia quibz nobis tenendum pñm⁹  
fuerim mungeres qd de ciuitate pñā quātuor ciues de dispoñōibz & magis sufficientibz eligi & eos ad dñs  
diem & locū venire fac Ita qd qñm ciues p se & ciuitate ciuitatis pñā sufficientem potestatem ab ipis



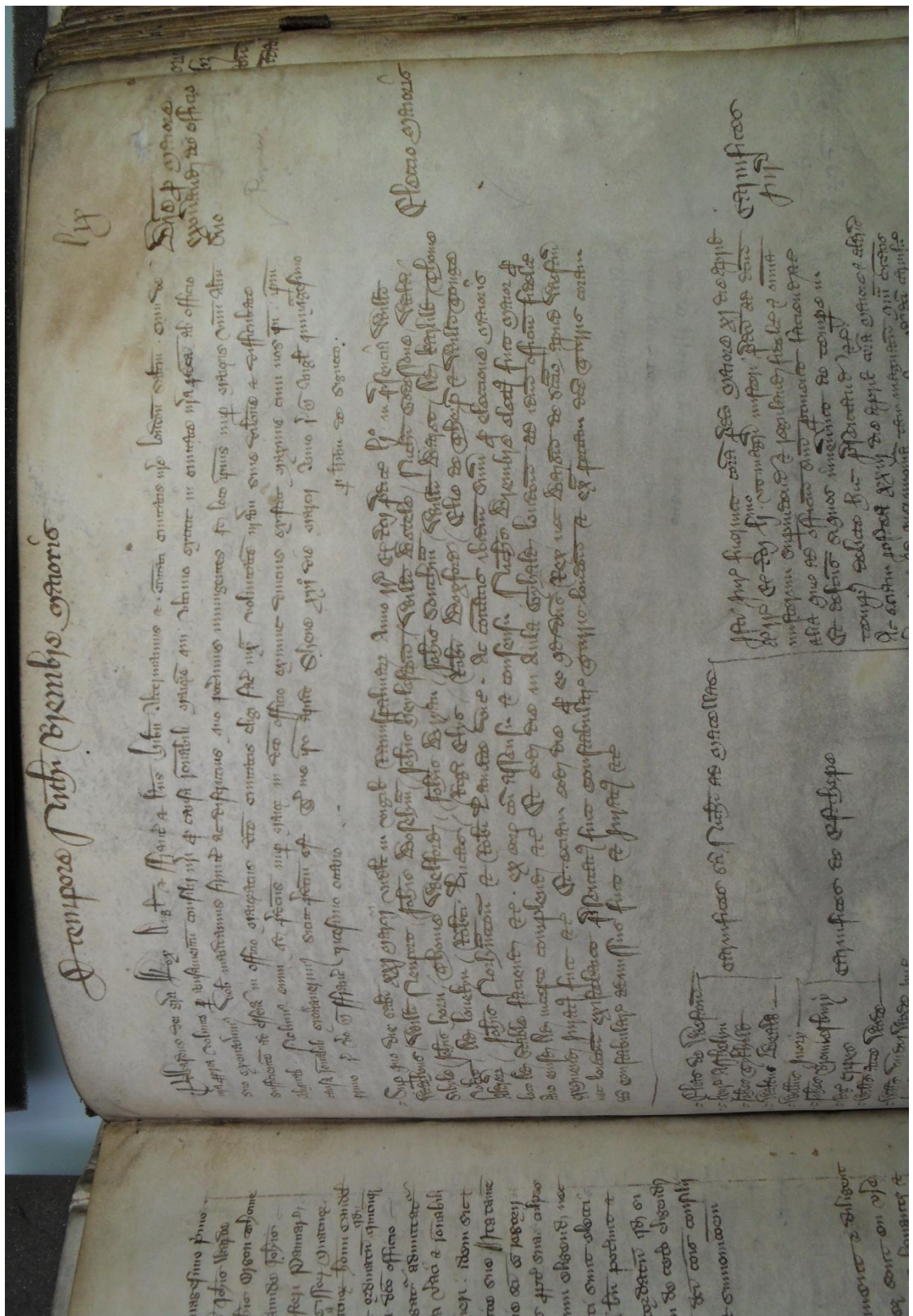


Fig. 19 – Letter-Book H, f. lix



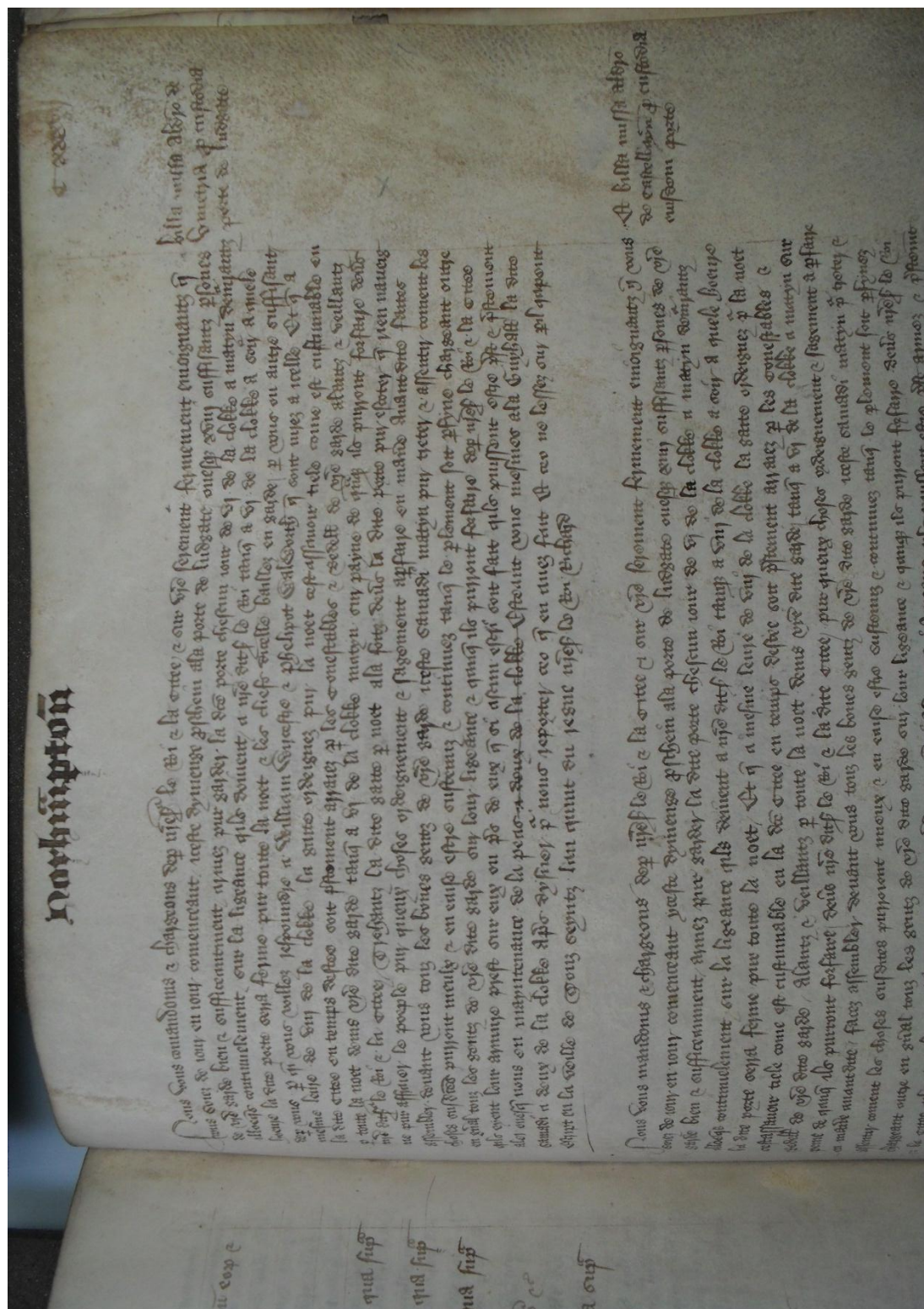


Fig. 20 – Letter-Book H, f. cxxxvii

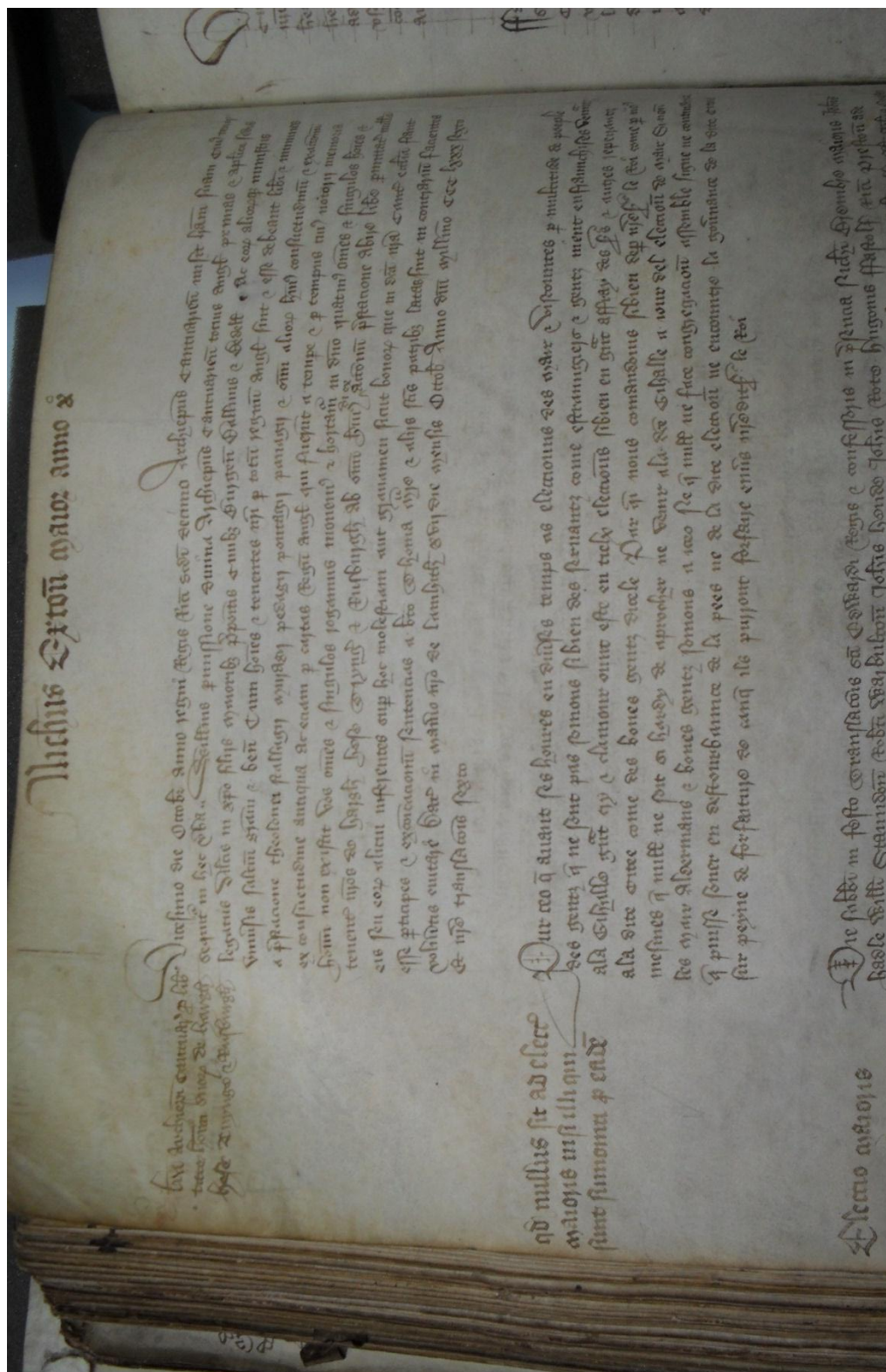


Fig. 21 – Letter-Book H, f. cciv<sup>v</sup>

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SC 8/21/1001A (An attachment to the *Leathersellers and Whittawyers' Petition*)

SC 8/21/1001B (*The Leathersellers and Whittawyers' Petition*)

SC 8/21/1002 (*The Founders' Petition*)

SC 8/21/1003 (*The Pinners' Petition*)

SC 8/21/1004 (*The Painters' Petition*)

SC 8/21/1005 (*The Armourers' Petition*)

SC 8/21/1006 (*The Cutlers, Bowyers, Fletchers, Spurriers, and Bladesmiths' Petition*)

SC 8/94/4664 (*The Drapers' Petition*)

SC 8/163/8126 (*Durant's Petition*)

SC 8/183/9147 (*Nicholas Brembre's Petition*)

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